LIFE AND WORK

EDWARD SHILLITO

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LIFE AND WORK

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CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP

The Story and the Meaning of C.O.P.E.C.

By the Rev. EDWARD SHILLITO

With a Preface by the RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

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UNDERSTANDING

Being an Interpretation of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, held in Stockholm, August 15—30, 1925

By the Rev. CHARLES HENRY BRENT, Bishop of Western New York

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LIFE AND WORK

THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON LIFE AND WORK HELD IN STOCKHOLM, 1925

EDWARD SHILLITO
Author of "Christian Citizenship"

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

In 1924 the Council, which arranged the Conference at Birmingham, now generally known as COPEC, invited the author of this book to write a short impression of the Conference. This he wrote under the title *Christian Citizenship* (Longmans). When the Conference on *Life and Work* was planned, its Executive honoured him by inviting him to write a similar impression of the International Copec, which was held in August, 1925, at Stockholm. It has not proved an easy task, and what is here recorded has no official authority, the author alone being responsible for the views expressed.

There were in all, it is computed, a thousand speeches, long or short, delivered at the Conference. There were certainly not far short of one hundred and seventy prepared speeches. The subjects varied from the loftiest themes of theology to the homeliest details of industrial life. Three languages were authorized, but others also were heard at times.

There were many able and experienced writers at Stockholm, and in the journals of many countries there were admirable summaries to which this book is greatly indebted. The first review of the Conference in book form was completed in remarkably quick time by Dr. Siegmund-Schultze. It would be hard to imagine a more competent and careful piece of work. To this the present author owes much every way. But the papers issued by the Conference itself must remain the chief deposit to which writers upon *Life and Work* resort, and in the preparation of its

records as in so many things the Conference was admirably served.

The one reward for such a task as that which the author has undertaken, would be the knowledge that he had had a share in the greatest adventure which still awaits mankind.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

CONTENTS

Chapter		*Page*
I.	A Procession	1
II.	Alpha and Omega	12
III.	Economics and Industry	25
IV.	A Short Chapter of Greetings	38
V.	The Right to Salvation	42
VI.	Alcohol	53
VII.	The Security of the World	62
VIII.	Handing on the Community-life	80
IX.	The Message of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work	96
X.	The End of the Beginning	100

CHAPTER I

A PROCESSION

"When I remember these things, I pour out my soul in me; for I had gone with the multitude, I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holyday.
Why art thou cast down, O my soul?"

Psalm xlii, v. 4, 5.

On the morning of the nineteenth day of August, 1925, there was a solemn procession in Storkyrkan, the Cathedral of Stockholm. The King and Queen of Sweden, with the other members of the Royal Family, had entered and taken their places. In the body of the Cathedral were men and women gathered from many nations.

After the civil procession came the ecclesiastical. A hymn of praise was chanted. This the worshippers sang, each in his own tongue. The English-speaking people were singing :—

"Praise the Lord each tribe and nation,
Praise Him with a joyous heart,
Ye who know His full salvation,
Gather now from every part."

From the Western door a procession entered, such as the world had not known before. It was not long, nor had it any ordered beauty to commend it. The artist would have smiled at the medley. Yet for those who could read its meaning, it was prophetic of a new age in Christendom; and when the story of the Church of Christ is completed, there may be a place for that motley company.

It seemed as though the centuries marched together; ancient with modern; the heirs of Athanasius with the children of Luther and Calvin. Magnificence and homeliness; the pomp of ritual, and the austerity of the Puritan; black robes and scarlet; insignia of academies in every land; golden crowns, and the plain blacks of the Protestant pastor! "Wittenberg and Alexandria, Geneva and Canterbury, Berlin and Thyatira, Bombay and Paris," were

there; dignitaries, apostles, evangelists, statesmen marched together to the Altar of God, while the words were uplifted:

"Give Him thanks in all His portals,
In the courts His deeds proclaim;
Hither come, ye ransomed mortals,
Glorify your Saviour's name."

There were many who could not sing as that procession marched past, nor were they ashamed of their tears. Before them in a swift pageant there was unrolled the tragic and yet glorious history of the Christian Church. That company were bringing for their oblation what varied memories!

"Of old unhappy far-off things
And battles long ago."

and with such memories the record of the saints who walked with God and overcame and "smile through their tears in strong triumph." The ancient Churches of the East had sent their patriarchs. The orthodox both Slav and Greek were there. The names upon the roll were enough to recall great moments in the story of the people of Christ. Alexandria, Sofia, Nubia! They made the past intimately near. These had come from Churches long separated from the West. Some of them had been encircled as islands in the deep and merciless waters of Islam. Some had known what it meant to endure reproach for the Faith, but they had never denied the Blessed Name.

With them were children of the Reformation from every country in Europe. Many were their confessions, many were their national traditions. But yesterday great numbers of them had been separated by the War from all fellowship with each other. Now German and French were side by side in their approach to the Altar.

From America and Great Britain had come ambassadors from almost every communion. But one figure in that Procession was not so much a symbol of the past as a prophecy of the future. Bishop Motoda of Tokio was, as it were, a courier sent in advance of the Church that is arising in the East; and in him a multitude of the souls unborn were present.

Every day there must be somewhere in Christendom processions more splendid in colour, and pomp, than this one in the Church of St. Nicholas, Stockholm. But there

can have been none to bring nearer the vision of the far horizon. Dim it might be and transient, but there flashed a vision upon those who saw that Procession sweep past. They beheld the countless host entering into the City of God from north and south and east and west. They had seen by faith the predestined end ; and they could go back with patience and hope to their life and work.

. . . . . .

What had brought together this assembly ? To what purpose had they come ?

Before tracing the after-story it is necessary to go back to the origins of the Conference, with which this record has to do :—

CONFERENCE UNIVERSELLE
DU CHRISTIANISME PRATIQUE.
WELTKONFERENZ FÜR PRAKTISCHES
CHRISTENTUM.
UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON
LIFE AND WORK.
COMMUNIO IN SERVIENDO OECUMENICA.

ВСЕМІРНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦІЯ
ПРАКТИЧЕСКАГО ХРИСТІАНСТВА

ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΤΩ̃Ν 'ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩ̃Ν

The Stockholm Conference of 1925 can be regarded either as a beginning or as an end. That fellowship marked, it is hoped, the beginning of a new day in the life of the Churches. But there were some pioneers to whom the assembly itself was the consummation of the thought and toil of years. It must have been to them a miracle of the Divine Hand, that had brought this to pass.

No one would have been so foolish as to dispatch a sudden call to the Churches to such a Conference. There is no one in these days who can play the part of Constantine at Nicaea. If such a Conference were to be gathered, it could only be as the reward of much careful and patient preparation. Anyone who looked upon the Assembly in Stockholm, must have sought for the pioneers, who saw the vision, and spent six years in making ready, for rough places had to be made smooth, and the crooked straight.

The story must begin with the War. At first it seemed as if that catastrophe had put an end to all hopes of new

fellowship between the Churches. In every nation at war the Churches were absorbed in national tasks, and their members shared national hopes and anxieties, triumph and agony. Little could be done to draw together in such a time those who were ideally one in Christ. But even in that time there were initiatives taken in an appeal published in November, 1914. Servants of the Church in America, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Holland, Switzerland and Hungary testified that nothing could break the bond which binds together those who are in Christ. In 1916, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America bore a similar testimony. In 1917 in Great Britain a Council was formed to promote an International Christian Conference. In December, 1917, in Upsala such a Conference was summoned, and members from Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavia met together for prayer and counsel.

These initiatives deserve to be recorded, because they reveal how even in the time of the separation of peoples there were some in all lands who were eagerly waiting for the moment when they would be free to rally the broken forces and to fashion a new and more glorious fellowship.

When the war ended, it became clear that there was an uneasy conscience in all the Churches. Questions both from within and without, were put to their leaders. Why had the Church in August, 1914, been powerless to speak a word of authority above the barriers of nations ? In the realm of applied religion for what did the Christian Societies stand ? What part were they meant to fulfil in this human scene ? Were the modern developments of industry and politics to be without any guidance from the Christian Church ?

The recoil from war, which in the political life of the world led to the demand for the League of Nations, was at work in the ecclesiastical scene. On one side there were pioneers at work exploring the possibilities of closer friendship in Faith and Order. There were others, who had a concern for a closer alliance of the Churches in applied Christianity. Without waiting for a concordat upon Faith and Order, there appeared to them to be an opportunity for fellowship in the *Practick Part*. It might be that in the application of Faith the divided Churches could find a common ground of fellowship. There the weakness was palpable ; and the powers of evil entrenched in the social order would never tremble before a divided Church.

The tragedy of the War provided an occasion for these statesmen of the Church. It was their business to turn that which was an occasion of division and death, into one of fellowship and life. It is always the charge laid upon the Christian Church to set in the midst of evil a counter-good. "To turn its necessity to glorious gain." War divided; war always must divide the Church of Christ. Then the Christian policy must be to release forces which will make the War, the very thing which was unto separation, to be unto goodwill and fellowship.

In October, 1919, the World Alliance of Christian Churches gathered a Conference at the Hague in which fourteen nations were represented. At this Conference a Committee was chosen to study means and to devise methods for holding a World Conference to consider urgent practical facts before the Church. The three members of the Committee, Archbishop Söderblom of Upsala, Dean Herold of Switzerland, and Dr. Macfarland, the General Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches in America, met at Paris, and planned a larger meeting to be held in Geneva during August 1920. The preparations for this assembly were in the hands of Dr. Frederick Lynch, of New York. Ninety members from fifteen countries were present, and a Commission from the Orthodox Church. It was there that the proposal to hold a Universal Conference "two or three years hence," was debated, and finally accepted by the Conference.

It is outside the scope of this sketch to describe all that happened at Geneva, Peterborough, Hälsingborg, Zürich, Birmingham, Farnham, where from stage to stage the organization was carried, not without many perils and some hair-breadth escapes. It must be recorded however, that in 1922, at Hälsingborg, the International Committee, the General Secretary, and three Associate Secretaries were appointed, and executive power was committed to them; so *Life and Work* came into the range of practical affairs.

What journeys over sea, and even over deserts, the Secretary and his colleagues made, cannot be told here. They did not neglect the outposts of Christendom; in particular it was their duty to give personal invitations to the leaders of the Orthodox Church. Slowly as the years passed the details of the Conference were determined, and the subjects to be treated, the numbers of the delegates, the

speakers, the methods to be followed. It proved no light task to enlist the co-operation of Christian Churches in many cases so little known to each other. That Dr. Henry S. Atkinson and his fellows had not travelled in vain over land and sea, from one Church to another, will be manifest when the lists of members at Stockholm are scanned. Of Dr. Atkinson it is enough to say that his toil in preparation and his immense industry, and his wisdom, which he wears lightly, were evident in the Conference; he spoke little, but did much.

Among those who had prepared the way for the Conference there were some who did not live to share in its sessions. Among them were the Dean of Copenhagen, the Rev. John MacGilp, Mr. Robert Gardiner, the soul of the Faith and Order movement; a short time before the Conference was held, the Bishop of Oxford died; he had given much toil and enthusiasm to this undertaking, and he with the others, though dead, still spoke in Stockholm.

The main purpose of the Conference remained the same during all these preparations. To others were left the discussion of Faith and Order. The Conference at Stockholm from the beginning was dedicated to the study of applied Christianity.

This was its calling:

"The purpose of the Conference is not primarily to promote the reunion of Christendom, though such co-operation as is proposed will undoubtedly help to this end. It does not intend to deal with questions of Faith and Order. The purpose is rather to concentrate the thought of Christendom on the mind of Christ as revealed in the Gospels towards those great social, industrial and international questions which are so acutely urgent in our civilization. Believing that only in Christ's way of life can the world find healing and rest, we desire to discover how best His message may be applied to those problems with which every nation has been confronted. The need for making some such concerted endeavour to learn afresh the mind of Christ cannot be exaggerated. The nations are yearning for purer politics. Industrial unrest is producing chaos and confusion. The basic motives of citizenship need strong

reinforcement. In international affairs, men are seeking anxiously for permanent peace and deeper fellowship. We believe that the message and teaching of Jesus Christ afford the only solution. To set ourselves to discover His will, and under the guidance of His spirit to find wise ways of applying His teaching, would seem to be the paramount task of the Church."

There were some important preparations which must not be left out of account if the Life and Work Conference is to be understood. There was *Copec*. At Birmingham in April, 1924, representatives from the Churches of Great Britain met to consider the application of Christianity to Politics, Economics and Citizenship. This became known as Copec. This Congress was not without its international vision. No man can think out applied Christianity without thinking internationally. Delegates from the Churches in other lands were present. Copec was primarily a concern of the Churches in Great Britain. But through careful and profound studies prepared beforehand, and the remarkable sessions at Birmingham, Copec was able to provide a working model for the Universal Conference. There were necessary variations for Stockholm. But it was one of the fortunate things, for which the delegates at the later Conference could be thankful, that they had the experience of Copec to guide them. Along the same lines, in obedience to the same spiritual logic, within the same world of thought and action, the two conferences met. Copec has held and is still holding regional conferences. Stockholm was a regional conference, the greatest of all since its region was the world. "Copec on the map of the world."

If Great Britain had Copec to offer, America had the splendid machinery of the Federal Council of Churches already in action. It had also the daring vision to plan undertakings on a vast scale, and the generosity that does not tremble at the cost. Moreover already upon the application of Christian principles to industry, American thinkers had done much work. America had many experiments to share with others, not only in Church life, but in the impact which the Christian community can make upon the social and political order. It is a country in which men must learn how to plan on a bold scale,

whether in industrial life or in the Church. America had much to offer. For the European section the unity of operation, familiar in Great Britain and in America, was not possible. But in each country gifted leaders in thought and action were busy during the years 1920—1925.

No one who was at Stockholm could question the immense interest awakened throughout Europe.

To many delegates from Great Britain and America it was an inspiration to be brought into fellowship with representatives of so many varied cultures, and to reap the harvests of so much profound thinking. More than one had to confess that they had never before understood so clearly the traditions of the Reformed Churches in Europe. A Conference which could hear in one season Bishop Ihmels and Dr. Wilfrid Monod was rich in spiritual treasures ; and some of the nations where the Church was small in number, had great gifts to bring. No one present at Stockholm will ever be content to speak of the French Protestants as few in number. They will remember their leaders who spoke as men inspired.

If the dignitaries of the Orthodox Church had done no more than be present at the Conference they would have enriched it both with memories and with promises. But though their preparations were more the offerings of isolated thinkers than of commissions, they had a value of their own ; and it must be counted another happy fact that upon the Executive Committee Archbishop Germanos, so greatly revered in Europe, was able to act for the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Among the heralds preparing the way for Stockholm the name of Sir Henry Lunn must have an honourable place. By means of a conference gathered at Mürren, and by the unceasing toils of many years, Sir Henry had been preparing the way ; and it was fitting that the Conference should hear him speak upon the ideal, to which he has given so freely.

It was most seemly that the Conference should meet in Sweden. No more lovely place could have been chosen than Stockholm. No city in the world could have played the host more graciously. And by the very genius of its Church, Sweden is fitted to be a land of reconciliation. Its Church has been justly called an *Ecclesia Conciliatrix*. " In its organization and common worship it has retained

much that belongs to ancient ecclesiastical tradition, including constitutional episcopacy in unbroken continuity with the earliest days. At the same time it agrees with Luther in emphasizing the importance of the essential inwardness and spirituality of the Christian Life and the freedom of the Gospel."

Sweden moreover had the man ready for the hour. Nathan Söderblom, Bishop of Upsala, Archbishop of Sweden, scholar and statesman, has the qualities which make a leader of men. Bold, tireless, swift in thought, and action, he fills a place of great dignity among his people without sacrificing his homeliness and humour. During the War his restless spirit longed to bring the Christian peoples together. When the War was over it was he who took the lead in calling the Churches to think and to pray together. What *Stockholm*, 1925, owes to Nathan Söderblom, no one can tell. But everyone who shared in that assembly in the gallery of memory which he will adorn with radiant pictures of Stockholm will have a place for the Archbishop. One wit said of the Conference that it consisted of North, East, West and Söderblom. Now Söderblom it should be added means "flower of the South."

. . . .

In the Storkyrkan that August morning the Church of Christ in all the stages of its task was represented. The Church as it stands face to face with other faiths still mighty; as it lives in the heart of Islam and Hinduism; as it inherits in other lands the legacy of centuries of faith. The Church was there from countries where the industrial revolution has had its way, and from lands where the people still win their bread from the soil by the sweat of their brow. What one message could be delivered? What was the one act which all could share?

They had chanted together the Te Deum; they had prayed together. Then the Bishop of Winchester gave out his text. *Repent ye for the kingdom of God is at hand.*

It was the only word which could speak to the spiritual condition of all the members of that company. They shared the need for Repentance.

"'Change your mind. Adopt a new outlook. Get a fresh point of view.' That was Christ's challenge to His own generation. That is the challenge which in

His name we make to the men and women of these modern days. To accept that challenge is Life. To reject it is death. Civilization has two alternatives. It can go down or it can go up. It cannot remain where it is. Facilis descensus Averno. Difficilis ascensus per Christum.

We believe in that ascent. We believe in the Kingdom of Heaven. We are conspirators for its establishment. That is why we are here. That is the meaning of this Conference.

Other Christian Conferences there have been and are. Faith and Order! Fellowship through the Churches! Our concern is the same and yet different. The same, in that we work ad majorem Dei gloriam. Different, for our concern is not the doctrine of the Church, not the government of the Church, but the establishment of the sovereignty of Jesus Christ through the whole range of human affairs. Our creed can best be expressed in one sentence—"On His vesture and on His thigh is a name written, King of Kings."

To admit that sovereignty is for most men a spiritual and mental revolution. Our business is to promote that revolution. For on its accomplishment, or even partial accomplishment, depends the fate of the twentieth century. A new age is being built. Epoch making is a mysterious process, but we are allowed a hand in it. The nineteenth century was a wonderful epoch. In science, in commerce, in mechanical invention it was one of the great ages of history. But the material outran the spiritual. The movements of the century were tremendous, but for the most part they were centred in selfishness. And the wages of selfishness is death. Death in the great war. Death in the cut-throat competition of commerce. Death in the hideous antagonisms of industry. But we want Life. The whole world wants life. Multitudes are searching for it. Some think that they will find it by knocking to pieces our present civilization. Destroy, destroy, they cry, and then hope for something better. Some see salvation in keeping things as they are. A great army of grey-headed men,

the defenders of the status quo—their motto, No change.

But we must change. If you are ill, you go to the expert, the specialist. The human race is ill. It must go to the Specialist, the Prince of men, the great Physician. His advice is plain enough."

The Church had been to blame for forgetting that society itself as well as the soul of the individual man was the object of the Christian redemption. Christ had called to the community, as well as to the individual man, to change its mind.

In such a Conference there was certain to be an expression both of Christian pessimism and Christian optimism. The debates did reveal a tension between the two. At the outset the preacher in the Cathedral claimed a place for both. We in this generation have sufficient reason to believe in the evil which is in the world. Nations are still suspicious of each other; self-interest is still mighty. Yet there is a marvellous change of outlook. There is such a movement as the League of Nations; nor can any observer of recent history forget how the last half-century has brought a new concern for the right treatment of motherhood, and for education, and for better conditions of labour.

There must be a recognition of the truth both in pessimism and in optimism. In the progress of the Kingdom there has been and there will be catastrophe. There have been many days of judgment. Yet God does not despair of the world; nor will they lose hope who study His mind and will in Christ Jesus.

This was to be the central aim of the Conference, to lift all the problems and tasks of the world, in which if anywhere we must serve God, into the searching light of His will.

Sursum Corda.
Habemus ad Dominum.

After the sermon there was sung the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and at the close as though the soldiers of Christ were preparing to march to a new warfare, they sang the battle-song:—

Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.
"A safe stronghold our God is still."

CHAPTER II

ALPHA AND OMEGA

FROM the Cathedral the delegates proceeded to the Palace, where the King of Sweden was to declare the Conference open. The Archbishop of Sweden addressed their Majesties first in these felicitous words spoken in English :—

> *Your Majesties,*
>
> When the spirit of God visits humanity, it is the same flame that is kindled in human hearts, although land and water separate them. Such is the origin of this meeting of Christendom. The misery of the world, our fellowship around the Cross of Christ, the call of the Master to us to realize through Life and Work the visible unity for which He prayed, after many vicissitudes, hindrances, prayers, counsels and other preparations, has brought Christian men and women together from almost every part of the globe. God grant that the flames kindled in our hearts may be purified and united here into a fire of love and justice that shall enlighten Christendom with new clearness of the eternal and divine truth, and that shall warm the souls of men and the Church itself with the ardent compassion of Christ. That must be our prayer now and henceforth.
>
> May it please Your Majesty to open the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work."

In heartfelt and gracious words the King of Sweden welcomed the Conference. To the surprise of the members, he also spoke in English.

> " Sixteen hundred years ago the trusted men of that time met at Nicaea to give expression to their faith in our Saviour, and in the being and revelation of God. The meeting now held here more than one and a half

thousand years later has a not less important aim. It will endeavour to make clear what Christianity should, and can do, faced with the burning questions of our time which demand the joint and conscious efforts of all the best forces to reach a happy solution."

Of the answers to the King one may be selected. The King had made mention of Nicaea ; it was fitting that the Patriarch of Alexandria should tell how as in an ecstasy he had seen the Emperor Constantine " opening by a declaration inspired from on high the first Œcumenical Synod." The memory of the venerable Patriarch will remain the clearer since it was in the Conference that he said his *Nunc Dimittis*. On his way homewards he died at Zurich ; the Conference at Stockholm was his last and crowning vision.

It was not till late in the afternoon that the Conference addressed itself to the Report upon Commission I. Before any record is given of the many orations and speeches, it will be useful to trace the line of thought which the delegates were to follow.

I. **The Church's Obligation in view of God's Purpose for the World.**

II. **The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems.**

- A. Christian Love and Economic and Industrial Problems.
- B. Man and Property.
- C. Co-operation in Industry.
  - 1. National.
  - 2. International.
- D. Child and Adolescent Labour.
- E. Unemployment.

III. **The Church and Social and Moral Problems.**

- A. Vocation and Profession.
- B. Home and Housing.
- C. Youth.
- D. Relation of the Sexes.
- E. Treatment of Crime.
- F. Drink.
- G. Leisure.

IV. The Church and International Relations.

A. The Universal Character of the Church.
B. The Duty of the Church to teach the Brotherhood of Men.
C. The Race Problem.
D. What can the Church do to further Peace and remove Causes of War?
E. The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship.
F. The Duty of the Christian to the Nation and the State.
G. The Substitution of Law for War in settling International disputes. Legal Order and its Extension beyond the Boundaries of Nations as founded on Biblical Revelation.
H. Christian Love making for Reconciliation and Brotherhood.

V. The Church and Christian Education.

A. Education of the Christian Personality.
B. Education for Corporate Life.
   1. Its Religious Basis.
   2. Its Community Outlook.
C. Education towards an International Outlook.
D. Education to a better understanding of East and West.
E. Textbooks.

VI. Methods of Co-operative and Federative Efforts by the Christian Communions.

A. Christian Co-operation.
B. Continuation Plans of the Conference on Life and Work.

For each of the Commissions, reports had been prepared from one or more of the sections. In the days immediately before the Conference began committees had been at work upon these documents in hospitable Swedish homes. It was their task to make ready on each subject one brief report which might give the general sense of the Conference, and provide a basis for its deliberations. These final reports were in the hands of all the Delegates. They were not in any sense confessions of faith; they were simply attempts

to set forth the general mind of the Christian communities assembled in Council.

Nicaea had been much in the minds of the speakers, both for what it had in common and for what separated it from the Life and Work Conference. Pentecost too had been much with them in their hopes and prayers. But when the first of the long array of orators ascended the pulpit in the Blasieholm Church on the afternoon of August 19th, it was rather to Babel that the mind turned. Three languages were permitted, German, French and English; and if all the delegates had been good linguists the Conference would have been much more swift and efficient. All that could be done to remedy Babel was done; the speeches of the appointed speakers were translated, and copies of the translations were in the hands of the delegates. In the discussions there was a most admirable translator. But it was quite outside the power of even such a gifted linguist to convey the full meaning of the speakers. Much was lost in every way, and in particular by the English-speaking delegates, who were easily the worst-equipped in this matter. "It is not indispensable," Dr. Deissmann said, "that the Christian World Conference should always meet in the shadow of the Tower of Babel; in future times we should have Pentecostal meetings, when Parthians, Medes and Elamites understood each other without difficulty, as they discuss with each other the great deeds of God, and the great demand of God."

But at Stockholm that hour had not come, so that the delegates had to move slowly, and timidly over the road, missing many notable things. It was noticeable how little laughter there was; laughter is greatly missed in such solemn assemblies; but everyone jokes with difficulty and is slow to discover humour in a foreign tongue.

There were two ways between which the Conference upon *Life and Work* had to choose. Its members might devote their minds first of all to an analysis of the human scene, and after defining its case in all its deep needs, might then call to their aid the wisdom and grace of God. Or they might begin with God, and before they plunged into the study of a desperate world might dwell for a season in the light by which alone they could see light. So then "consum'd and quicken'd by the glance of God," they might survey together the world with which they had to do.

They must identify themselves in sympathy with that world, but only after they had identified themselves with Him through Whom and unto Whom are all things.

The Conference chose the second way and began with the nature and purpose of God. For the afternoon and evening sessions of the first day this subject was set down on the programme; but such a theme could not be confined to the sessions of one day. It is true to say that in each session there was an orientation of mind and heart towards that master-light of all their seeing.

Not without deep emotion and even fear could the speakers have risen that afternoon to set forth the Divine Purpose for the world. It was early in the Conference, but the service of the morning had searched the hearts of the members; and at certain moments in the notes of a hymn or in some flash of insight or hope they were back in the upper room, or breaking bread in Emmaus.

But if there were likely to be grave differences in the practical application of Christian faith, could it be taken for granted that upon the purpose of God there would be agreement? If men cannot agree upon earthly things—upon the attitude of the Church for example towards war or towards alcohol, how could they agree upon the mystery of the unseen and eternal world? It was not within the design of the *Life and Work* Conference to deal with the problems of Faith. Its members were not met to debate upon their differences in Creed and Confession, they were permitted and even required to declare with what thoughts upon God they entered upon their application of the Faith. Each speaker and each group was free to make its confession of faith. It was as Christian thinkers they were met, not as economists, or philosophers, or reformers. There were differences in the interpretation of the Divine Purpose and these were brought into the open; but more startling than the differences was the large measure of agreement and the sincere desire of those who came with varied traditions, to understand and, as St. Paul said, "to receive" one another.

The tide of Christian thought and action has not come down in one but in many streams. In Stockholm there were speakers who arrived each with the traditions of his own Church in his blood. They spoke with its accent; they used its vocabulary; they had its scale of values, its

historical memories, its vision of the future. Everything in the past inheritance of his Church is significant for the believer. Yet amid all the variations there is something universal in the deepest religious experiences. "It is almost impossible for those who are directly moved by religion to recognize 'another.'" From this fact arise many difficulties. The problem of unity within Christendom is more difficult than outside, simply because Christian experience is so universal a thing, and they who have the experience find it hard to recognize it under other forms. Yet there is a pressing need for each Church to avail itself of the inheritance in Christ which has been enjoyed by others. Since this review is chiefly designed for the English-speaking representatives, it is necessary to lay stress upon the gift, which the others have to bring from the treasures of the Lutheran tradition.

"I believe especially that all would profit greatly," it was said by one speaker, "if, once more, the depths of deep religious life and searching thought, and the noble word . . . which now in central Germanic Europe is yielding all too little interest, were again brought into use. Both England and America could profit from it. They are threatened by the something which always approaches when mass-power becomes great, so that life hobbles, so to speak, in spiritless mass-movement. It becomes something 'the biggest in the world' which is more like a tower of Babel, or a sky-scraper, than a sanctuary. The spiritual mind which traces its source directly from Luther, contains more depth within. Both sermon and psalm and tones of the organ sound, are more subdued perhaps, but more heart-felt and richer here."

For the understanding of Stockholm it is imperative that the address which Bishop Ihmels of Saxony delivered at the opening session should receive close attention. It was not the first to be delivered, but it may fitly be considered first. In it the deep and solemn note of historic Lutheranism sounded with a chilling effect upon the more ardent reformers from the West.

They may have forgotten how hard it was for those who represented the Lutheran tradition to share in the hopes of Stockholm. To many of this school the attempt to apply the law of God to public life is Anglo-Saxon sentimentality. The heirs of Luther in this matter must be sharply dis-

tinguished from the heirs of Calvin. They have a contribution to make of a permanent character to the Christian mind if for no other reason than that they provide a perpetual warning against the separation of Christian activities from their roots in the Divine grace, as it is received by faith. There is a strain of pessimism in all the deepest Christian experience; and of this the Conference at Stockholm was sternly reminded at the very outset. At the same time it must be recorded that the Lutherans were eager to learn the mind of others, and to come as near to them as they could, without abandoning their cardinal principles.

The Conference, Bishop Ihmels declared, had to reckon with the fact that it is a lost and condemned man with whom the Gospel has to deal. The Gospel is meant for the whole world; but God's loving purpose can only be realized by faith. His kingdom is not an ethical society accomplishing its activities by human counsels. It is God's kingship in the hearts of men which subdues them to itself, unites them with God, and then also with one another.

"The Kingdom of God comes necessarily into contact with the natural social order of the world in which those who acknowledge God's Kingship are living. This is God's order in the same sense as the created world is His world; but the Kingdom of God is quite distinct from it because it belongs to the order of Redemption. It is neither an ethicized nor a sublimated world, but an absolutely new creation in the world. It is opposed to the common order of the world only in so far as the latter has been infected and defiled by sin. In all other respects the Kingdom of God acknowledges its lawfulness, but would leaven it thoroughly with the spirit of Christ. Yet here it is of fundamental importance to maintain that, strictly speaking, it is only the life of the fellowship within this social order of the world that is capable of being penetrated by the Kingdom of God. . . . It is mere self-deception to suppose that the Kingdom of God will reach its perfect development in the world within this æon. Nay, just as the individual Christian, even though he has the first-fruits of the Spirit must long for the promised adoption and redemption, so the whole creation must await with us the manifestation of God's Glory in the Day of Jesus Christ. As the Kingdom of God only enters into the world and each human life as an entirely new creation,

so it will only be completed by its renewal at our Lord's Second Coming. His last word of testimony is: 'Surely I come quickly.' All the labours of Christ's People have a decisive influence in hastening that coming, yet we can never know when it is. Our work and prayers are really all a repetition of that entreaty: 'Even so, come, Lord Jesus!' "

Since this is so, the one task of the Church is to bear witness to Him who was, and is, and is to come. We can only be His instruments if we believe that God so administers the government of the world as to bring men, individually and in general, to Jesus Christ. The coming of the Lord is drawing nigh; and for His purpose it is the congregation of faithful people that God supremely needs.

What then is to be the relation of the Church to those without? The Church cannot force her ordinances on those outside her pale. But at the same time she must realize her duty to provide such ordinances as shall be schoolmasters unto Christ. Christianity is religion and nothing else. The Church cannot possibly accept any secularization of specifically Christian codes, as though they could remain the same after they are uprooted from the ground of personal faith. A community of faithful people is what God desires and all the work of the Church must be directed to this end.

So far Bishop Ihmels, who raised a question of supreme importance.

Where can any common ground be discovered? On the one hand there is the emphasis upon the judgment hereafter in the light of which the Christian believer must use diligently his time and wealth. On the other hand the view that there is a purpose of God for the present order, in the hope of which the Christian must fulfil his calling. According to the one view the sole concern of the Church must be the Gospel of individual salvation. According to the other there is a Gospel for the social order in which the children of men must live out their life in this passing world.

In effect there proved to be common ground in the fact that individual salvation involves a life in which the present social claims are fully recognized, and faithfully discharged. This qualification when it is set in clearer relief leaves a large common arena. The redeemed individual soul must

discharge its duty in the city and nation. Without waiting for agreement upon the relation of that social life to the life of the people of God, the redeemed man must everywhere fulfil his calling and bear his witness.

The tradition of Calvin is far removed in this matter from that of Luther. Dr. Wilfred Monod, the French speaker in the Blasieholm Church that afternoon, gave passionate utterance to the hopes cherished by the modern heirs of Calvin.

"To be true to the revelation of the Bible, it is not enough to state that individual souls are called to salvation; we must contemplate in all its extent, in its cosmic frame, the plan of a collective redemption; the pathetic ascension of mankind mounting, or re-mounting towards the light should appear to us as the realization of a programme desired by the Holy Spirit."

The very words of the Prayer which all Christians repeat were for this speaker a programme of social endeavour. "*Our* Father, *our* bread"—the very words called to a new view of fatherland, and a new fellowship in the common life. The duty of the Christian world was to meditate at the foot of the Cross upon the Prayer of Our Lord. The war had pitilessly revealed the futility of a divided Church; but the tragedy had not been in vain. The Spirit of God inside and outside the Church was inspiring men with a vision of a united humanity. "The idea of the kingdom of God, buried like a spiritual Pompeii, under the ashes of secular error, had been rediscovered." With this radiant faith the speaker sought to show how the Christian Churches assembled in Stockholm might appeal to the other international forces. There was the Press; and unless the Church was to surrender to the pagan deities, Venus, Bacchus, Mars, Mercury, and Mammon, it must seek to use the international road, provided by the press. There was the Roman Church, which had felt unable to send representatives.

"In communion with Chrysostom and Origen, with Pascal and Saint Francis of Assisi, with Luther and Livingstone, let us turn towards our brothers who are absent, the Roman Catholics, whose spiritual presence we have felt."

One after another the Internationals were summoned before the Assembly. The International of Intelligence, the Labour International, the League of Nations!

It was no light task which was before the Conference. Its prophets were to remove mountains, even if they were white with the eternal snows. Two and two the messengers must go forth to tell the Nineveh of these days that, without national and international repentance, this civilization must perish.

Both Bishop Ihmels and Dr. Monod had a place for crisis: but it can be seen at once how they differed in their interpretation of the Divine Purpose. For one the eye must rest on the far horizon and gather patience and strength from that final end. For the other upon the near horizon. The one dealt with a lost and condemned humanity; the other rather with a world groaning and travailing in pain and waiting for its redemption. *Were the Kingdoms of earth and the Kingdom of God on different planes? That was the question.*

From America there had come among the preparations for the Conference a most careful and valuable analysis of the aims and methods of the Protestant Churches in America. The American Commission followed four lines of investigation, Evangelism, Home Mission, Foreign Mission and Recruiting. They had for their task not so much to define the purpose of God, but, presuming the message of the Gospel, to show how the obligation to give expression to it is being fulfilled. They did not deal with the problems, which were raised by Dr. Ihmels, but were concerned rather with the practical concerns, how to fit the members for the Kingdom, how to fulfil the prophetic function of the Church, how to secure from those who are not in its membership an acceptance of the truth and redemption of Jesus Christ. It was in line with this concern for the practical application that Dr. Wishart spoke at the opening session.

It had been a long and exhausting session, but there was an eager hearing for Dr. Garvie, who spoke for the British delegation. For its contribution to the Conference the British Commission had submitted a summary of the Copec Reports. The first of these dealt with the theme of the opening session. It was fitting that Dr. Garvie, one of the leading forces at Copec, should speak. This was the substance of his address.

Christ since He is Incarnate Word, and perfect Son, under human conditions reveals God as Holy Love, as Fatherhood, whose purpose is that man should live in loving

fellowship with Him and grow in likeness to His holiness. This purpose is fulfilled in accordance with man's freedom, sin and sorrow. Since he is free, man is a fellow-worker with God, God is a fellow-sufferer with man in his sorrow. By His sacrifice Christ saves from sin and His purpose embraces the whole manhood of all mankind. Everything human is embraced in it. Christ fulfils that purpose through the Church, His body, which must make its essential unity manifest and must transcend the differences that divide men. The Church must be immanent in the life of man, because it is crucified with Christ, and must triumph by the power of His Resurrection. The love of God revealed in the grace of Christ, must be realised in the koinonia, that is the common possession of the Spirit. Throughout his address Dr. Garvie kept before the Conference the thought of *the family of God.* Others had chosen the Kingdom of God as their ruling conception. Dr. Garvie spoke rather of the family of God, of man as he comes into accord with God's nature and purpose as Father. What bearing has this upon the problem of life and work? Much every way. *Neglect of man, if these things are so, is indifference to God; cruel contempt of man is cruelty to God. Whatever hurts man grieves God.*

Not yet was the long first day ended. In the late evening there were three speakers, Dr. Gleditsch from Norway, the Metropolitan of Sofia, and the Archbishop of Dublin. It was a great vision which came from the Orthodox Church. The Church of Christ on earth appointed by God to realise the universal equality and brotherhood, and to bring in the ideal city of God which St. John saw! Its life an unbroken sermon upon the divine ideal. "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, goodwill towards men!" The love of Christ, so proclaimed, is God's remedy for ignorance, slavery, tyranny, war, egoism and vanity; and by its means the spirit of God is destroying even now the wall of partitions.

It was the task of the Archbishop of Dublin to call for a new experience of the Christian Gospel. We suffer too much from an inherited religion. For that we must substitute an experienced religion. The Christian message to remain Christian must have a social application. The tragedy of the Church was that it has robbed the gospel of its social content. It had made it too individualistic. It aimed at rescuing the individual

from a perishing world, not at saving the world through redeemed individuals. The real work of the Church was to heal the wounds of men and deliver them from their chains. "We need more imagination, a wider outlook, a deeper sense of reality, closer and more sympathetic contact with our fellow men, more knowledge of the conditions under which they live. We must view them with the eyes of God."

There had been manifest the ancient controversy between the belief that the Kingdom of God is present in this life, and the belief that it belongs to the other life. To this controversy Dr. Gleditsch returned at the close of the day. There are two extreme positions; one that the Kingdom of God as taught by Jesus was essentially ethical; the other that it is a cataclysm which will come to revolutionize this life. It may be, however, that the Kingdom of God lies on the horizon, that is where earth and sea terminate and the vault of heaven rises aloft.

The Divine scheme, the speaker contended must be viewed in connection with historical revelation. The human spirit and God cannot meet in the boundless realm of abstract phantasy, but God must meet man where he is, on the spot of earth where he lives with its existing character. At the present moment science teaches that the world is not substance, but movement and presumably also direction.

"A world in movement finds itself in perplexity when it is unable to discern the goal towards which it is travelling. And, as far as I understand, the dispensation to which the Church can and must bear witness exactly fits in with our present views of the universe. With the old views of the world, the idea of the Kingdom of God was almost bound to split into two divergent conceptions according as stress was laid on the one or the other of the two elements of which the world was supposed to be composed, *force* and *matter*. If matter was created by God, it is reasonable to conclude that this world, the world of matter, must have a termination. If force was created by God, and if it is something distinct from matter, it must lead the world of matter out into the invisible. But if the whole is resolved into motion and concentration, the ideas of Christianity fit in exactly. For every centre, every system in the world of nature and in the world of spirit is, so to speak, a horizon which for a time

appears to be the final goal. But beyond that horizon, there is always a new horizon which comes into view when the former is penetrated. Is not this the history of Christianity down through the ages: the merging of Judaism into the culture of the Mediterranean, the merging of the latter into the Germanic world, the merging of the Particular churches into Roman Catholicism, the merging of the latter into the all-embracing Evangelical ideas of the Kingdom of God, and finally the transmission of these ideas to non-European peoples?"

With this thought the record of the deliberations of the first day may fitly close. The Church must not gaze at an abstract eternity, but upon a horizon coloured by the immediate surroundings, but at the same time one which affords "a vista into the beyond." The danger however remains that the Church being absorbed by the things nearest at hand, may not have sufficient power to discern the vista into the wider horizons.

Wordsworth sang of the skylark:—

> "Type of the wise who soar but never roam,
> True to the kindred points of heaven and home."

The task before the Christian Church is to be true to its kindred points. Or if Dr. Gleditsch provides the metaphor, true to the immediate horizon, and to the vista which is opened there. But it may be that not till it sees the immediate task will the Church of Christ perfectly see the King in His beauty and the land that is very far off.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY

AFTER a day spent upon the mountain-top of vision, the Conference descended into the valley. From thinking of the nature and purpose of God its members had to turn to Economics and Industry. Their task was not to build three tabernacles on Mount Hermon, but to discover what precisely the Christian Church has to say to the world upon its problems. The minute of the morning session, August 20th, reads :

> The Fourth Session was opened at 10 a.m., with the Archbishop of Upsala in the Chair. After a blessing was given by the Patriarch and Pope of Alexandria, a statement was made by the General Secretary. Next were treated standing orders, and the election of Committees. Messages and greetings were then read, after which the Chairman welcomed the gathering.
>
> Subject 2, The Church and Economic and Industrial Problems, was dealt with by :—
>
> The Very Rev. The Dean of Worcester,
> Professor D. Kähler M. des Reichtags.

The first period in each session was set apart for prayer, so that before the delegates entered upon their deliberations they were lifted under the guidance of spiritual leaders into the world of light and glory, into which they must bring their many concerns. In this as in other services of praise they were greatly helped by *Communio*, the hymn-book specially prepared for the Conference.

The task before the Dean of Worcester was to present the report of the Commission appointed to deal with the various reports from America, Europe, and Great Britain. The final result was of necessity less detailed and more general than the original reports. It was concerned for the most part with general principles.

The work of the Church is to proclaim the message of salvation through Jesus Christ, and so to lead men to a Christian faith in God, and a new life in love. The social

mission of the Church does not lie outside her religious work, but is entirely involved in it.

The conditions in economic life are in many ways inconsistent with the ideal of the Kingdom of God. The Church of Christ cannot remain silent in presence of the evils of these conditions. She is not without guilt. She has under-estimated the power of Christ to liberate the whole of human life and overcome its evils.

The fundamental principles which ought to save the Church are three, Love, Brotherhood, Justice.

The Church cannot commit herself to any special scheme; its function is rather to purify and deepen the human conscience.

MAN AND PROPERTY. Christianity regards all possessions not as ends, but as means held in stewardship. The duty of service rests equally upon all. The Church must still alleviate suffering, but she must also act through and with the social agencies which the community now provides.

CO-OPERATION IN INDUSTRY. In the organization of Industry the aim should be the development of co-operation between all engaged. The workers must have an increasing share in the undertaking and responsibility should go hand in hand with authority.

CHILD AND ADOLESCENT LABOUR. The welfare of the child and the welfare of the community alike require the abolition of child labour. The evil is international in its effects. Employment of young people should as far as possible include training in and for industry, and the hours of labour should be so regulated as to permit a continued general education.

UNEMPLOYMENT. The evils of unemployment are intolerable to the moral sense. The causes must be sought and removed.

"The Christian Church has not by herself to carry out programmes of reform but to impart the life-giving spirit to them, and take part in them where desirable. It is not required of her that she should furnish economic systems or technical details or political programmes, but it is expected of her to regenerate with the power which comes only from on high. It is demanded that she herself shall be a centre of spiritual fellowship, and above all that

she insist on the great creative power of love, brotherhood and justice. In order to make this possible all Christians who believe in the social teaching of the Gospel ought often to meet together, and help each other to think out the problem as to how the ideals of Christianity may be better realized under the conditions of modern industrial life. For this purpose we are here assembled. But this meeting is only the beginning."

Such a report must take its meaning from all that it kindled in the minds of those who heard and approved it. It was not meant to be a programme, or to provide a battle-cry. It was rather the text upon which many inspiring words were said. To select from these words, is no easy task, and in the baffling range of speakers and themes, it is more than likely that any one recorder will miss a number of wise and significant words.

Upon the Commission which had prepared the report there had been representatives of the varied traditions of the Church in its dealing with economic and industrial problems. Perhaps the most memorable utterance in the morning session at which the report was first presented was made by Bishop Ihmels, who had expressed on the previous day in most powerful words the traditional position of the Lutheran Church. He announced now that he was prepared to support the recommendations of the Commission. Dr. Ihmels who is a great scholar and a profound thinker, has deservedly a strong influence in German religious life and thought. In himself he embodies the inwardness of the Lutheran type, and its emphasis upon the necessity of relating everything to the deep spiritual realities. It was a sign of progress towards a common understanding that the Bishop of Saxony, approaching the subject from the standpoint of the redeemed individual soul set in the economic and industrial scene, could accept the report

There were during the morning and early afternoon sessions not only set speeches, but shorter contributions by delegates, who were allowed as a rule five minutes. Not the least valuable part of the Conference was this interchange of brief thoughts, mere interjections though they might seem to one who had a life-time of study and experience and was set the impossible task of expressing himself in five minutes. To include all such speeches would

demand a series of folios. To give extracts may be misleading, but it is all that is possible.

Only Christ can bridge over the opposition between capital and labour, or give the spiritual precedence over the material. This was common ground for all the speakers, and it was well-expressed at the beginning by the Rev. P. T. R. Kirk.

There was common ground too in the plea for the work of Christian charity which has been laid upon the Church from the beginning. The three-fold service of the Church was defined by von Lic. Steinweg, as Guidance, Speech, and Loving Service. The Service is for those who are in distress, but though it is primarily for the individual, the Church cannot be blind to "mass-distress." The Church must share the blame for the conditions which have been allowed to arise in which men cannot help falling. The Church moreover cannot attend to the sick, and at the same time neglect the study of hygiene. Inevitably through its care for the individual the Christian community is led to care for the community. Social *caritas* and social reform must go together. This will not make the kingdom of God, for earthly conditions are transitory. But what there is of love in these endeavours remains in eternity.

The founder of the Settlements in Copenhagen, Dr. Jörgensen laid down four desirable things. (1) Christian people must become better acquainted with the structure of modern society. (2) Pastors and laymen must co-operate more. (3) Churches must take the matter in hand, since individual love is only ambulance work and more is needed. (4) The sense of obligation to service must be fostered.

The Church, it is true, must co-operate with the State, the Bishop of Ohio, Dr. Rogers, declared, but it must also be prepared to lead when the State does not dare.

The leader of the Christian Labour Movement in Holland, Professor Slotemaker de Bruine, declared that a wrong use was often made of the words "the poor ye have always with you." We have to see that they are no more with us. There is a living relation between economic conditions and the intellectual life. The workers are hindered by their conditions from reaching their true intellectual stature. In the interests of the soul we must change the conditions.

Love we owe to all men ; and it is always our duty to show love, but *to the workers we owe first of all justice.*

The office of deacon comes next to that of preacher. The guidance of the bishops, the word of the preachers and the ministry of loving service, these three offices have been recognized in the Church ; it was of the task which falls to the deaconess that Emma von Bunsen, the Superior of the Elizabeth Deaconess Home in Berlin, spoke. Sacrifice is essential. The quest for "soul culture," must be laid aside by those who enter this service. Those who carry out works of love are certain to meet with social problems, and the deaconess must be educated to deal with them. The Church must not care simply for individuals, but must bear its part of the common guilt.

The main impression left by these first interchanges was that from two sides the members of the Conference were coming near to each other. One might enquire how the social order might be Christianized, another how the individual Christian man might live his life of faith and love in a world like this ; but both would meet.

In the later afternoon session in the Blasieholm Church, there were four notable speeches, by which thinkers from America, Sweden, Great Britain and France made offerings to the common mind.

The first speaker was Dr. Shailer Mathews, of Chicago. The Church in his judgment was not concerned with the technique of industrialism, but the Spirit of Christ called the Christian people to create an atmosphere in which the salvation of the individual was possible. That gave them the right to help to determine what sort of society should arise out of industrial development. They might do nothing, and cease to count ; they might ally themselves with one class, and lose thereby all leadership. Or the Church might proclaim a social gospel that would produce men possessed by the attitude and spirit of Christ. That was its duty. Men were discontented ; they had a right to be discontented with the system which made it impossible for them to meet the needs of their life, and to realize their personality. The Church must give a moral direction to this discontent.

Sir William Ashley, speaking with a masterly grasp of industrial history discussed the application of the gospel to modern life. There can be no doubt for the disciples of Jesus that there are two main principles, Love and the

Kingdom. But the principal task of the modern Church is to "depolarize" these expressions, to replace these words by their equivalent expressions in the terms of modern life.

Love signifies the sincere aspiration after the highest well-being of others, an aspiration which must be put into practice. The kingdom of God is the conviction that a divine purpose is in action in the world, and calls us to co-operate with it, and that the end of this divine purpose is a human society, worthy of the capacities of man. The creation and the strengthening of the Christian will is the first necessity. It is better that preachers should not deal with political measures. It is not so easy a task as preachers have sometimes imagined to translate Christian love into action within this complicated world.

The relations between revolution and evolution, the origin of new ideas, the influence which a judicious minority may have with permanent results upon the social organization of a modern state, these are problems which cannot be solved lightly. Progress is not developed spontaneously from the past, but on the other hand no reformer can do otherwise than build upon foundations which already exist.

It seemed probable to the speaker that the world was about to enter upon a phase of nationalization and socialization. The part which the Christian Church must play in that time will not be less but more important. It will be the task of the Church to lift men above material and intellectual egotism, but it must keep them far removed from fanaticism. Public spirit, it must be remembered, is the virtue in civic life which corresponds to Christian love.

There was no more impassioned orator in the assembly than Pasteur Elie Gounelle, and of the documents laid before the Assembly there was none more carefully and boldly arranged than the memorandum prepared by him.

Therein he set forth in clear terms what are the charges brought against the Church by those who speak for the revolutionary labouring classes. They say that the Church is a friend of capital, a safe keeper, an opiate for the people. They feel very strongly that the inequality from which they suffer comes not from nature but from society itself.

Revolutionary materialism will remain the scourge of God for this generation until the life of man is humanized, or Christianized. Revolution will be an unsparing and expiatory necessity. It is not the first business of the Church to condemn the voices of the rebels, but to understand why they are raised. The Church cannot ignore economic problems, but its method is not that of the state. It is "*pedagogical, moral and spiritual.*" Inspiration not compulsion is its way. "Only by way of a perfect agreement and increasing co-operation between science, democracy, and religion, with the help of God, wlll humanity find a solution for the problems of our present life, and above all for the problems eternal."

Four propositions were laid down by Pasteur Gounelle as the minimum :—

We ask the Church to take the initiative in confessing its own social sins, and to repent with humanity and for humanity.

We ask the Universal Conference to define in as much accordance with the Gospel as is possible, the precise aims of industry, of business, and therefore of ownership.

We ask the Conference to found an International Institute for Life and Work.

The Conference ought not to close without having sent to the entire Labouring World a religious and friendly message.

The Cross of the Church of the Twentieth Century is the Social and International Question. Those who would enter into that arena must be ready to follow Christ in the way of His Passion. It is to meet the mocking of a sceptical world, and to risk the opposition of all the established powers. We always wish that the march of the Church towards the Kingdom of God may be a march to the Star, and not a march to Calvary. But the Church will only accomplish its task as it accepts the law of the Cross. "Jesus will be in agony until the end of the world."

During the day, and indeed during all the days of the Conference, the delegates were compelled to think of widening ranges of human need. There came the temptation to imagine that love takes its character from the range that it covers, or that Christian love is the same as the general love for mankind. It was well that they should be

reminded as they were by Runestam, that love is of no greater value just because it embraces a greater number of or covers a larger area. The Gospel concerns not first of all the extent but the depth of love, for it is always a personal sacrifice.

> "The gods approve
> The depth and not the tumult of man's love."

Nor is Love more valuable through being directed to a more valuable object. The love of Jesus was poured out freely upon the fallen children of men, and not on their souls only. On much that was apparently worthless He spilled His love. His love did not ask, each time it was given, whether the need was great enough for him to worry over it. It sufficed that there was need, and His heart burned with pity. The value of Love depends not upon the object loved, but upon the subject who loves. Christian love creates the *soul* even when it is directed to the relief of bodily and sentimental needs. But in dealing with such needs there must be no double intention. "It is a proof not of the human limitation, but of the divine immensity, unselfishness, and richness of Jesus' love that He wasted so much time and devotion even to save from sickness and need the perishable bodies of men." Those who would follow that same way must not betray love through wisdom. The threads of all things are in the hands of God. It is ours to break down the barriers within us that keep back the Divine Love, and then to go where love calls us to high or lowly tasks.

And this had its bearing upon the task upon which the Conference was busy. It is not the business of the Church to deal with the temporal needs of men, as a strategic move towards the soul. It is not its duty to spread more thinly over a wider surface the love that it has now, but to draw nearer to the love of God, and let the fires of that love seize upon it. Not tumult but depth is the secret.

In the evening the Christian ideal was set forth uncompromisingly by Bishop Brent. If the Sermon on the Mount is an expression of life as Jesus lived it, then it must have absolute validity even in international questions. The world is waiting a clear word from the Conference. The League of Nations at the present hour is a clearer

sign of Christian community than any ecclesiastical union movement. The Church should be a clearing house for international grievances. Upon the foundation of progress the temple of confidence between the nations can be built. God save us from private thoughts and give us collective souls! With this the day's records may close.

Friday, August 21st, found the delegates still busy upon the questions which had been before them on the previous day.

In such a Conference it was to be expected that there would be no ordered and logical advance. Speakers often returned to the base. Sometimes a suggestion was thrown out, and taken up later. Answers were offered to criticisms long after they were addressed, and sometimes forgotten.

If any delegates had imagined that the problem before the Church was simple, Bishop Billing must have disturbed them. There is, he declared, no ready solution ; in conversation with business men he had found that many a thing which he had looked upon as a self-evident ethical postulate turned out to be clearly utopian. It was necessary to establish an Institute which would do for the whole Church on the international scale, what a talk with a Christian man of business, facing his difficulties, may do for the individual man. In such an Institute there would be investigation proceeding steadily and scientifically ; all who were at work in social service would find it an office of information ; and there would be not only investigation, but instruction. But it must be scientific. "*What we need in order to proceed along this road is not only goodwill and faith in the reality, and victorious power of the Christian ideas, but also good solid professional knowledge.*"

Dr. Tippy followed with a searching analysis of the present order. The men of power in industry were not concerned with the welfare of the community primarily, but with their own profits. A new heart, a new motive must be given to industry. In place of acquisitiveness there must be the motive of Jesus Christ Who gave "His life for the sheep." There must be co-operation ; paternalism is false. There is needed a new evangelism which would carry a new conscience out into industry. The safety of the Church is not in timidity, but in passion, and in power.

Miss Constance Smith, one of the most experienced social workers in Great Britain, laid stress upon the need that the nations had of each other—a need no less evident in the economic, than in the military sphere. Already the meaning of our interdependence, so manifest in the War, was growing dim. Commercial men of all nations were now more timid in industrial affairs than they were in 1919, and they were also more indifferent. We have to seek for the incarnation of spirit in economic life.

Dr. Nathaniel Beskow, the founder and president of the Swedish Alliance for Christian community life in Stockholm, asked how can capital work together with the other factors of industry? So long as Capital with its lust of gain has the control and monopoly in its hands there is little hope of a change. Mammon is not an obedient pupil to be convinced by theories.

We must give living illustrations and for this reason we must know the facts of economic life. Sacrifice is needed; and individual men must not wait till the Church acts.

Dr. Mumm, a member of the German Reichstag, spoke of the scientific research institute. Neither a dictatorship, nor a class war is needed. Labour and Capital are dependent on each other. The normal condition of the classes is peace and not war. But neither the employer nor the worker must stand under the dictatorship of the other. Out of one hundred and seventy social democrats and communists in the German Reichstag, one hundred and forty have cut themselves from any kind of religious community. *No German social democrat had greeted the Conference.* On the other hand, employers were there and the Christian trade unions of Germany.

Sir Murray Hyslop spoke in defence of competition. It is not the duty of the Church, nor has it the capacity to set up economic principles. Its task is to create a new spirit. An equal valuation of capital and labour is necessary. Capital means foresight, prudence, responsibility, risk; it must continue to exist if labour and industry are to continue. Unless there were a new relationship in industry between employers and employed, no economic change would make industry what it should be—a department of national service.

The greetings of 360,000 Christian workers was brought

by Herr Baltrusch, Secretary for Labour in the German Government. He pleaded for international relationship between and through the workers.

It must be admitted that at Stockholm through no fault of the promoters of the Conference, there was not an adequate representation of the workers from East and West. Many were cold to it. Some were hostile. The Soviet Government in Moscow was critical, and even scornful of it. For this reason the speech of Herr Baltrusch was a welcome intervention.

The consideration of *the employment of minors and young persons in industry* began with a report from Pasteur F. Busé. It was admitted that conditions were better than they were, but a new problem had arisen through the coming of the Industrial Revolution in the Far East. There is need still for Law, Public Opinion and the Church to work together. "Have we realized that had Jesus Christ come to-day, His humble family would have been obliged to send Him to the factory in order that His work, that handiwork which He has honoured, might help to provide for the needs of the family?" Dr. Fritz von Bodelschwingh, whose words these were, pleaded for the children who are poisoned by the deadly breath of the factory. In the discussion it was told how in Sweden the first attempts had been made to take the young out of their work for three months every year and to send them into the country to a national university.

After Child Labour came the subject of *Unemployment.* To Herr Springer this was assigned The Christian Church may go a long way with those whose interests are simply in industrialism, but industrialism in itself can never generate the power to make a healthy industrialism. The speaker took up a position in sharp antagonism to the attitude of those who make labour subservient to commodities. For the Christian Church labour can never be separable from personality. "In the measure in which the ethical valuation of work increases, the suffering due to unemployment will also increase." The Church without passing into the dangers of legalism can use its moral influence in supporting every measure to ward off unemployment. It must never be allowed to bring lack of food, or any abridgment of citizenship. It must not be treated as a penalty. Much may be done by the Church

to help the unemployed to use profitably the time of inaction.

It was left to the Rev. Malcolm Spencer to drive home what was involved in the confession that unemployment was "intolerable." If it is intolerable, the Church should concentrate its attention upon it, even to the exclusion of some of its normal activities of spirit and service. It must repent of its part in the sin, which is, in the last resort, at the root of unemployment. It is the business of the Church to see that sin in the life of mankind is taken seriously; and the Church itself must repent before it can teach the world to repent.

The last speaker was a Socialist member of the Swedish Reichstag. He reminded the Assembly that those who were affected were not present. This was the dark cloud over the Conference—millions of workers distrust it. Decades ago the Church was silent in the hour when men looked to it to speak. If it spoke it was only mere words, and therefore the workers are against us. "How it touches the workers when one says to them 'Christ demands that; it is His righteousness.' Then their eyes shine. But not when one says to them, 'Marx demands that.'" There was still a reverence for Christ, even among those who have lost hope of the Church.

What is needed is an organ for the evangelical conscience of the world! What would it mean if one day all evangelical Christians could say with a voice of authority, "Down with armaments!" or "This cruelty and that is unchristian!"

What indeed! But there was a long way to tread before that comes to pass. Even in the *Life and Work* Conference there were many interpretations of Christian duty.

Had any definite programme of social action been submitted to the assembly, it would certainly have met with strong opposition and perhaps with rejection. Something of more value was done through the reports and the speeches. Certain broad principles were expounded. The experiences of pioneers were made common property. Experiments in one country were made available for all to study; and, without question, after Stockholm no delegate could ever think of problems of economics and industry as merely national. Every problem was seen to be

international. No proposed solution could offer any hope unless it were on the scale of the world. In this conflict there is no longer East nor West. If one member suffers, all suffer with it. "If there is a thorn in the foot, the whole body must stoop to pull it out." No nation is saved except in a saved world.

CHAPTER IV

A SHORT CHAPTER OF GREETINGS

THERE were more than five hundred delegates in Stockholm. But there were millions, who were listening for its messages; and there were a great multitude sharing in its hopes, and strengthening it by their goodwill, and sympathy.

From the King of England:

Among the messages received was a most cordial one from the King of England, expressing his interest in the Conference and his hope that it would conduce to the great cause of international peace.

Other messages are given.

From the President of the United States:

Washington,

June 2nd, 1925.

Your invitation to attend the Universal Christian Conference of Life and Work has had my careful consideration. I feel certain that I should find this a most interesting gathering, but as you know it is not expedient for me to go outside the country. I should be pleased if you would convey to your associates my best wishes for the success of the Conference and my hope and belief that it may result in a great deal of good. It will provide a forum for interchange of ideas, an opportunity for better appreciation of the aims and ideals of the different peoples there represented, and raise up the standard of life and work throughout the world.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

From the President of the German Republic:

Hundreds of official delegates of Christian Churches have met at Stockholm in these days to deal conjointly with the great questions of modern life in accordance with the principles of Christian morality, to handle the immense problems of world-evolution from the point of view of the Christian conscience and to relieve the oppressing difficulties of the social, economic and political life of the nations in the spirit of the Gospel.

I greet this Conference with great joy as a particularly valuable link in the long chain of efforts struggling for the real peace of mankind and I hope that God may give rich blessing to the great and important task of this Conference on Life and Work.

May your meetings be accomplished in the spirit of love and mutual understanding and may there emanate from them a healing force for the souls of mankind.

VON HINDENBURG,
President of the German Reich.

July 1*st*, 1925.

My desire not only to take part in such an assembly but at the same time to pay my tribute to the imperishable work to redeem the reputation of the Church as an undismayed and consistent power for peace, would have brought me to Stockholm had it been humanly possible. Multitudes of people have again and again been turned away mourning because when a testimony of faith in the imperious rule of the Christian spirit was demanded to check and shame the passions and the follies of blind men, that testimony was not delivered, but something so feeble, so temporising, and so false was given out instead. The state of the world to-day once more calls for the aid of the Christian spirit, not only as a judge and a healer, but as a guide. Whilst men and nations in their distress of fear run hither and thither seeking safety where the experience of centuries shows there is no refuge, it is the duty of the Church to rally them to a confidence in the inner light and its attending moral courage, so that they may walk with firm confidence in the ways of the spirit, which are the ways of both honour and life.

RAMSAY MACDONALD.

From Dr. Harnack.

"My thoughts and deeply felt wishes and blessings will be constantly with the Conference in these days, in which to my sorrow it is impossible for me personally to take part.

In the face of this great gathering all my remembrances of Church History are stirred; they seem to me to have been a preparation for this Conference. Thousands feel, hundreds will express their gratitude. Take also to-day my sincere and warmest thanks.

What the Conference will achieve, no one can foretell; but certainly it is not before its time and certainly it cannot end in failure. One may say: 'God wills it, the Christian conscience requires it, the need of the times demands it.' Should it result in nothing more than an orientation of the need, and in brotherly intercourse, a beginning will have been made which cannot be in vain. But I certainly hope that immediately there may come out of this Conference even if in a tentative form, an organization through which the great thought may take shape and permanence. We shall not fail in patience, if only the seed is not scattered by the wind, but takes root.

May God's grace express itself in the brotherly relations of those who take part, and may His Spirit govern the proceedings."

Upon the table in the Musical Academy, in which the Conference met for the earlier sessions of the day, was a gavel made of olive-wood. It had been brought by Dr. Charles V. Vickrey from Palestine. In Nazareth there is a carpenter's shop organized by the Near East Relief. There the gavel had been made, near to the place where Jesus worked at the carpenter's bench. The silver plate had been engraved by a Greek orphan boy, whose life had been saved by the philanthropy of the United Christian Church.

Of this the Archbishop of Sweden said, "Nothing could be more welcome than this visible remembrance of the sacred place where our Saviour lived and worked."

It would take more space than is available in this sketch to tell how Stockholm greeted the Conference. Many vivid pictures will pass before the mental eye of those who were in Stockholm during that fortnight; the evening in the Blasieholm Church, where the programme dealt with

the power in human life of Christian love; and Prince Carl, the brother of the king, Elsa Branstöm, the "Angel of Siberia," Selma Lägerlöff, the great Swedish writer, and that noble baritone Forson gave to the guests of the City an entertainment as rare as it was happy in its character. And who can forget the Guildhall where the City gave its banquet to the delegates. The vast hall with its amazing frescoes; the hundreds of candles, throwing their light upon the huge figures on the walls, on which the story of Sweden was recorded; the trumpeters heralding the speakers; the gracious speeches; the blended homeliness and splendour, these things made that evening a sheer delight.

It was Belshazzar's Palace with no word of doom but promises of hope upon the walls.

CHAPTER V

THE RIGHT TO SALVATION

The Conference and Moral and Social Problems

In the study of economic problems there was a diversity in the conditions with which the delegates were familiar. Some were from countries in which modern industrial conditions had scarcely begun to be known. Others were from lands in which the old and the new existed side by side. The urgency of certain economic problems varied almost indefinitely. Some of the delegates could listen to the discussion of them without any sense of personal responsibility, since it might be many years before they would become vital questions in their countries.

It was otherwise with the Moral and Social Problems upon which the report was presented on Saturday, August 23rd, by Prelate Schoell.

A brief analysis of the Report will show what landmarks the Commission set up for the guidance of the delegates.

Five principles were laid down :—

1. *The Christian Gospel is the "Gospel of the Kingdom of God."*

2. *The Kingdom of God means reconciliation between God and man and between man and man, the discovery of God as the Father, and of mankind as a brotherhood, through Jesus Christ. It means a new manhood and a new society.*

3. *The Church of Christ is God's instrument to hasten the coming of the Kingdom. Its first task is to bring the individual to God, but because there is a "solidarity" of mankind, its further task is not only to ensure to all men and to the whole of each man the revelation of God, but also to secure for all men "the right to salvation."*

4. *The chief modern peril is the lack of a consciousness of sin as revolt against God and the root-cause of social disorder. The foremost duty of the Church is to emphasize the tragical quality of sin, through the proclamation of the holiness*

of God, the sanctity of the moral law and the inevitable consequences for society of individual sin. It is not possible to make a good society out of bad men. The words of Jesus Christ are decisive. "Except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God."

5. *But, on the positive side, social disorders in their turn estrange men from God and hasten their deterioration, therefore it is the duty of the Church to address itself with a practical purpose to the moral and social problems of our time.*

These principles were to be applied to Vocation, Home and Housing, Youth, the Relation of the Sexes, the Treatment of Crime and Leisure. Such problems are of importance in every land under every condition of life. The principles are there unchanging, and adequate to all demands; but they must be freshly applied. Tradition tends to leave us in the lurch. There is a grave need, Prelate Schoell declared, of prophets and pioneers, who, chosen by God Himself, can point out new ways with divine authority. But there are four notable enemies: Unmoral Materialism; Atheistic Worldly Morality; the New Morality; the Double Morality of those who acknowledge one standard within the Church and keep another for business. The Church has indeed to be the public conscience, but Christian morality can only be founded upon Christian faith. No revival, no renaissance!

"Morality without religion is possible. Religion without morality is not," the Alsatian delegate Pastor Scheer declared. "Religion is not the gendarme of morality, but a prophetic voice." Still dealing with main principles, Dr. Tenmann of Esthonia said that life is stronger than laws; the Christian religion can be protected neither by law nor physical force. But can Christianity exist as a purely moral force? Can love do anything for the betterment of social conditions? It is clear that the best social regulations are nothing without love. The first question in the consideration of these problems is to revise fundamentally the ideas of love and justice.

The venerable Dr. Spiecker of Berlin was the first chosen to continue the general discussion. His speech dealt rather with the subject of the previous day than with that immediately before the Conference; but it was significant to note that this distinguished German financier added his plea to that of the French Socialist Pastor, M. Gounelle,

that there should be established an Institute of Sociological Research.

An English Congregational Minister, the Rev. James Beeby, drew attention to the connection between feeble-mindedness and crime. In his judgment there was little connection between bad social conditions and criminality. These questions should be investigated by the scientific research bureau, which was to be established.

The section of the Report which dealt with *House and Home* was introduced by the Rev. Will Reason, one of the leaders of Copec. Personality has its roots deep in the individual life; but this is fostered in the family. The home with all its defects is the institution which is the least removed from the way traced by God, and it offers the surest promise of the realization of His purpose. It approaches more nearly than any other grouping of human beings to the natural order of society. To restore the home to its rightful place is the greatest task of our time. The home must regain its former and original place. All that we know of life teaches us that it creates its body from within outwards. It is by the union of living cells that the tissues and the organs of the body are constituted, and these in their turn unite with each other to form the body. If the cells are destroyed or damaged, there is growth, indeed but it is a cancerous growth.

Out of a long experience Mrs. Cadbury spoke of the difficulty there was in interesting the general public in this question of housing. Most of those who live in bad dwellings are not dissatisfied with their conditions. She told of the conditions and difficulties found in England since the end of the war. Both men, material and money has been lacking.

After the subject had been introduced there were many short practical speeches from French, Scotch and German delegates. Of the French areas over which the war had swept, Lieut. Col. de Witt-Guizot spoke; from Germany, where the case of the home worker was set forth with fine humanity by Dr. Margarethe Behm, who declared that in the family of the home worker, child mortality and youthful crime are far less than in other houses. She pleaded for an organization of the women who work in their own homes. On their behalf she had worked for a quarter of a century. Canon MacCulloch was of opinion that the Church must

not build houses but should and could appeal to the public conscience. What might be done was shown by examples from Liverpool and other cities.

Georg Streiter, the Berlin Trade Union President, declared that the housing shortage was a vital question for the Church. The minister in such houses is ashamed to speak of the Ten Commandments because the conditions were in direct opposition to God's commandments. In any study of Labour conditions the housing question must take a first place.

At 2 o'clock upon the same day the subject of *Youth* was reached. Now youth was not present in Stockholm to plead its own case. The delegates were almost all past forty. Those who must carry out the ideals of the Conference, if they were to be carried out at all, were not present. It is true that in the willing students and scouts, giving their service during the days of the Conference, there was always a reminder of those who must be kept in hail. But for the most part youth was represented in the Council by its advocates, happily most able and sympathetic advocates. It became indeed clear that there must be a League of Youth if the aims of the Conference are to be fulfilled.

"What are the characteristics of youth in the present day?" Dr. Gillie of London asked. It is critical; it aspires to reality; it demands liberty. The Church therefore if it would deal rightly must submit its teaching to the intelligence, that youth may examine it, to the will, that youth may conform to it. The Church must distinguish between conventions and the eternal principles of the Gospel; but it must demand of youth, that it should translate ideals into action. It would be wise to demand less obedience to orders, but precisely because the Church demands less, it should lay stress upon the necessity that the will of God once apprehended must be obeyed.

In the discussion M. Henriod, of Geneva, one of the Secretaries of the World Federation of Christian Students, pointed out two dangers which youth had to meet—Atheistic Bolshevism, and the Syncretism (Synkretismus) which is on the increase in other lands. Youth needs the support of the Churches which should be given with more understanding and appreciation of its particular problems, and the young it must be remembered are best won by the young.

The Church, said another speaker, will have to render an account to youth of what it has achieved at this Conference. It should make plain that the Conference understands the hope of the young. The leader of the Youth Group of Copec would like to see industry, politics, and economic questions among the tasks undertaken by the Churches. No religion will mean anything to youth unless it is offered as the Kingdom of God. The fulness of life must be embodied in religion. It must demand more, and youth will follow. But it should be understood that to-day youth wants to lead. In questions concerning youth, it wants to do the principal work itself. This involves the meeting together of the young; opportunity must be provided after Stockholm as it was after Copec for the young to meet in order that they may secure a place in the Church.

The youngest delegate to the Conference, W. A. Visser l'Hooft, from Holland, pleaded for a world-brotherhood of youth. He spoke of the necessity for the provision of Christian Literature.

No unanimity had been reached by the Commission upon the Problems of the Sexes. The Report was introduced by Frau Paula Mueller-Ottfried. In days in which the family was being undermined, she called for a return to the Gospel. The Church must apply one standard for men and women.

"I therefore insist," the speaker concluded, "upon the equal worth of woman, not as housekeeper, plaything, or mistress, but as the God-given mate, as the disciple of Jesus, equal to man. I hope that the influence of the Churches will bring it about that man and woman will recognize their responsibility to foster within each other their common spiritual-physical life, in order to strengthen their better co-operation in building the kingdom of God."

Upon the report itself wide and serious disagreement was made known. There was no difference of opinion upon the declaration of the spiritual and moral equality of men and women before God, or upon the duty of early and frank teaching upon the blessedness, both spiritual and physical, of self-control and purity, and upon the sanctity of married life based on love and mutual service. It was when the question of birth-control and divorce were reached that the Report failed to win the unanimous approval of the Conference.

"The Church ought to condemn concubinage," so the Report ran, "both within and without the married life. Apart from exceptional cases and those considerations of duty for which the individual rather then the Church is responsible before God, the Church should declare the limitation of birth by artificial means both anti-social and anti-christian."

The Commission, further, faithful to the teaching of the Gospel, recognized the legitimacy of divorce only in the case of adultery.

It must be admitted that insufficient time was provided for deliberation upon these two serious questions. They provided exactly the material with which the corporate wisdom of such a Conference might hope to deal. But all that was possible was to hear the brief and sometimes passionate declarations of speakers, who came to the Conference with strong convictions. An American delegate the Rev. Norman B. Nash, protested against the "Mr. Facing-both-ways" phrasing of the report on birth-control. Upon a crucial problem of family life the Conference was offering no real guidance, and the report would arouse the scornful laughter of those who deny the capacity of the Church to give moral leadership. He himself doubted whether birth-control was either anti-social or anti-Christian. Another speaker the Rev. Bernard Cockett urged that sex-enlightenment should be the work of the Church. Other speakers defended the Report. At the close the Chairman promised that the Committee would give attention to the points that had been raised. It must be admitted in justice to the Conference, that this subject was one which the limitations of time made it difficult and even impossible for the Conference to treat exhaustively.

Nor was there a discussion upon *Crime;* but there the Conference had the advantage of a masterly analysis from Dr. Simons.

This judge was obliged to confess with Goethe "there is scarcely a crime the capacity for which I have not detected in myself." Upon the questions which arise for the Christian conscience, the attitude of Christian communities so far has been "vacillating, obscure and contradictory."

From the outset the Christian religion is not concerned

with crime, but with sin—it is not solicitous about punishment, but about repentance. The Christian religion indeed from the outset was to a certain degree opposed to the legal conceptions of crime and punishment. "Is not the Cross itself a vehement and eternal protest against the attitude of the State towards crime and punishment?" In modern times the entire system of punishment by the State has been condemned by many a deeply religious thinker, such as Tolstoi, and Gandhi.

The criticism of the treatment of crime is directed against the conception of guilt. Primitive people punish any act which is harmful to the community, even if the doer commits it unintentionally—nay indeed against his will. It was the work of the Romans to bring guilt home to the personal guilt of the doer. In the present day some treat guilt from the standpoint of determinism—from a mechanical conception of the crime. Less radical and therefore more menacing is the attack made by psycho-analysis, which shows from what suppressed complexes crime suddenly breaks out. This attack endangers all penal justice. There are also the sociologists to whom the problem of crime is one of disease. Perverted social conditions, they say, are responsible for crime; it must be therefore suppressed by sociological means. Some go so far as to say that criminality is something normal and must be treated not as a pathological, but as a social condition. Punishment then must be only the last resource. But if danger to society is the sole criterion, there is no essential difference between a criminal lunatic and a rapacious animal! As a matter of fact the methods adopted to protect society are increasingly determined by the dictates of humanity.

The old retaliatory methods were replaced by imprisonment; but neither solitary nor ordinary imprisonment afforded any guarantee of education or reform; so other methods such as fines were superseding imprisonment. But these later methods are of doubtful value from the Christian point of view.

"What is justice? This question presses for an answer when we hear how each school casts in the teeth of the other that its method leads to injustice, and when we see how each has been compelled to make concessions to the other—the sociological school by gauging the dangerousness of the malefactor by the gravity of the crime, the classical

school by estimating the gravity of the violation of justice according to the strength of the criminal will. And once more we ask : What is the attitude of Christianity to these fundamentally opposed views ? "

There is no clear answer. In a profound and learned discussion, Dr. Simons analysed the history of Christian thought upon this matter. For this the reader must consult *The Proceedings*, edited by the Dean of Canterbury.

The Christian Church should not be brought to a halt before crime and punishment. She must use most of her power to prevent crime. She must impress upon the State the danger of a ruthless exploitation of its authority. *Agan-archy must be avoided as certainly as anarchy. The Christian needs a gracious God, but also a just State.

But when the criminal has been condemned, the Christian community must not surrender him ; there is here a field for Christian activity.

The Church must remember the victim. The State pays too little heed to him. It ought to ensure above all things that the evildoer sincerely expiates his act by work for his victim, preferably voluntary work of a systematic character, but when necessary in a workhouse.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart of America, one of the foremost authorities on this subject, dealt with the more practical issues involved in the discussion. His plea was for a more humane treatment of the criminal himself, particularly emphasizing the need for improved prison condition. Real Christianity lays emphasis upon the salvation of the individual criminal, whereas too often the organized processes of the law lay emphasis only upon the individual as a subject against whom shall be visited the vengeance of a broken law. He presented a striking antithesis between the teaching of the Bible, and the precepts of the world. The Bible says " Brethren, if man be overtaken in any trespass." The World says : " Gentlemen, if a man be caught in a crime." The Bible says : " Ye that are spiritual, restore such a one . . . in the spirit of gentleness, looking to thyself lest you also be tempted." The World says : " Ye that are worldly-minded, punish such a one in a spirit of revenge, looking out for yourself lest you suffer damage." Dr. Hart did not believe in condoning evils, but the force of his plea was that the jails

*Agan-archy from Greek ἀγάν—" too much."

should be transformed from schools of crime to workshops for re-making broken human lives.

As an example of the method followed in the Reports presented to the Conference the recommendations upon the Treatment of Crime are given :—

TREATMENT OF CRIME

1. In undertaking moral and social reforms and in educating the religious life of the individual and improving his surroundings, the Church is necessarily engaged in resisting crime, for which the moral disorder of Society is often responsible. In order to be faithful to her Master, she must not be content with methods of prevention but must seek the reform of the criminal.

2. It is the duty of Christian people to promote everywhere legislation which provides for "probationary sentences," in the case of first offenders and especially the young. Institutions, which are substitutes for prison, for the benefit of abnormal and of young persons, should be encouraged.

3. The Church must be vigilant to secure the improvement of material conditions in prisons and ought always to oppose any treatment which would infringe the self-respect of the prisoner, but such amelioration of prison conditions must be limited by the necessity that the prisoner should be made to understand the gravity of his offence, the punishment of which is intended to deter from crime.

4. The Church must not forget that her duty is not to excuse the criminal but to bring to him the message of repentance unto life and of Divine forgiveness, often granted sooner than the forgiveness of man. This forgiveness of God is for him always possible even when the community judges it right that his life should be forfeited for his crime.

5. The spiritual and material care of the prisoner's family is part of Christian responsibility and the prisoner when released should be aided in his efforts to secure work and to return to good citizenship.

The section of the report which dealt with *Vocation* was introduced by Professor Virkunnen, from Helsingfors, and Professor D. Mahling from Berlin.

The general position taken was in sympathy with the Lutheran tradition. Life is a gift of God. When God becomes the surest reality to man, man hands over to God the guidance of his life, not only in theory, but in practice. Life in this way receives a new value. Even in these days those who labour and are heavy-laden can find rest. Even in the age of machinery they are not machines. But this thought of vocation lays upon the Christian Church that accepts it serious duties.

The Christian community could undertake a real service in relieving the monotony of certain tasks. But what, e.g., about the vocation of the waiter? Can he look upon his calling as a service of love when he has to carry the bottles of liquor to a carousal? Or the compositor who has to set an article in which shamelessness is patronized, purity and discipline undermined? Or how shall a maidservant be able to look upon her work as a service of love, when she meets only selfishness and greed in her employer? The answer is that occupations where the possibilities of a service of love are excluded must be reformed through the labour of the Christian Church, as well as through the exertions of the men belonging to the occupation. This is already being done by the association of Christian waiters. It becomes clear that the struggle against selfishness and self-interest, and against lack of love, will have to be fought with the utmost energy, and the aim must be to purify the occupations themselves so as to enable those engaged in them to regard their work as a service of love to men.

The consideration of *Recreation* and *Pleasure* was taken on the afternoon of the 24th. The delegates were still busy upon Moral and Social Problems. It is interesting to remember that under the general heading of leisure came the consideration of such serious questions as gambling, the observance of the Lord's Day, the "Eight Hours Day," and other like matters. There was no time for anything like an adequate discussion of such themes.

Trade Union Secretary Behrens in speaking upon the report declared that leisure is as necessary to man's full life as work, and that during work man should know that leisure is promised him. It belongs to the rhythm of life. At the moment bitter fights were being waged upon the question of shortening hours. The Churches up to the present had been concerned to vindicate the Sunday rest,

but had not borne in mind the significance for the workers of shorter hours on weekdays. Yet the Christian life, the Christian education of children, and the care of the soul, is only possible if leisure is given. This is particularly true of mothers. Human beings have many concerns for which they need leisure—personal, political, pecuniary as well as family matters.

From the industrial workers came demands for still shorter working hours. Some desire longer hours in particular months, balanced by shorter hours in others. It must be noted that such a reduction of hours in the workshops brings more leisure for the middle-classes, and for the whole of the people. But it is important that proper use should be made of leisure ; no general law can bring this about ; it is here the Church must enter ; instruction, fellowship, campaigns against trashy literature—all will help. The clue lies in the school.

OBITER DICTA

Free time is indispensable for the building of character, Miss Spence of London contended. Education for self-control is prompted by leisure. Education for free-time is indispensable.

Sixteen millions visit the cinematograph daily, Mrs. Waid of New York reminded the Conference. That fact alone would show the measure of the task which faced the Church, in opening the deeper sources of joy.

The Rev. Thomas Nightingale, one of the Secretaries of the British Section, urged that freedom is a great responsibility. The Church must set the tone, and give the right character to life. Many employ Sundays in a selfish manner. We still need the spirit of Puritanism with its love of God and its passion for the divine truth.

Before the session ended Dr. Garvie pointed out that our Christian love was not law but grace ; and Sinai demands less than Golgotha. Freedom must be fulfilled by grace. Only when the wells of grace flow again and love becomes once more sacrificial shall we be free. In a similar strain Pastor Elie Gounelle begged the Conference not to forget the last depths of the Gospel. It is in the name of the salvation of the soul that the Church must fight against the wickedness which is raging in the world.

CHAPTER VI

ALCOHOL

" It is this feeling of the infernal gratuitousness of most of the drink-evil, the conviction that here hell would be quiet if only she were not stirred up by the extraordinarily wanton provocatives that society and the State offer to excessive drinking—which compels temperance reformers at the present day to isolate drunkenness and make it the object of a special crusade."

SIR G. A. SMITH, *Commentary on Isaiah.*

IT was known before the Conference, and it became evident from the first session that the American delegation considered the problem of Alcohol a matter of first importance, not to be merged in a more general problem. At Copec the discussion of Alcohol though it was discussed elsewhere, was raised formally in the problem of Leisure. To Stockholm many delegates had come from a country in which the most remarkable experiment of Prohibition was being made ; they could not discuss Applied Christianity with any sense of reality without dealing with the reasons which had led the Churches in America to deal in this way with an inveterate evil. And since the Conference met in Sweden there was an additional reason for dealing with this subject. Both in Norway, Sweden, and Finland the legislative handling of alcohol is an urgent and living subject. In Great Britain the problem of controlling the alcohol trade has long been almost the despair of reformers. In the other European countries there was an interest in the subject, but not so great an urgency or passion was revealed.

Two questions had been put to the Committee deputed to prepare a Report. What should be the attitude of the Church of Jesus Christ to-day towards the use of intoxicat-

ing liquors and the traffic therein? How can the great fundamental principles of the Gospel of the Kingdom be so applied as to reduce to a mimimum, if not entirely prevent, the awful results which have come from this traffic.

The members of the Committee found no condemnation of the use of wine and strong drink in the teaching and example of Jesus Christ.

The Church must find its duty in the application of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount and on such words as these: *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.* Self-denial for the sake of others is the splendid privilege of Christian service.

The Church has a two-fold duty, to train its members in habits of sobriety and self-control, and to encourage and foster such a spirit of brotherly love as shall lead them to have regard to the effects which their example will have on others.

Legislation supported by the Church should include suitable provision for the enlightenment of citizens, legislative measures such as prohibition, or control in one form or another. Upon the chief question of prohibition the Report, in the resolutions which it included, was to this effect. The Committee "*had not sufficient data to justify the recommendation of any one of these systems in preference to all others.*" At the same time it was the duty of the Christian citizen to obey loyally the existing law of the country to which he belonged.

FOUR POSITIONS WERE EXPOUNDED

The case for Prohibition was defended by Bishop Cannon from America. The case against it by Lord Salveson. The legislation of Sweden by Professor T. Bohlin, and the Rev. Henry Carter dealt with the proposed legislature of the Temperance Council of the Churches in Great Britain.

FOR PROHIBITION

Bishop Cannon desired the Conference to think not what the teaching of Jesus and Paul meant 2,000 years ago, but what under present conditions is the application of such teachings as this, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour

as thyself," and "if thy eye offend thee pluck it out." Christian liberty must be joyously surrendered at the bidding of love.

Alcohol is the enemy of organized society. Whatever the Church may say, industry and social life will not tolerate alcoholism much longer. Society has a right to protect itself against those whose actions or indulgences are a menace to others.

The American Church reached the conclusion that the Liquor Traffic is a public nuisance, the enemy of the economic, social, moral, religious welfare of the people. Upon this their action was taken. The traffic was outlawed for one reason only: the unescapable record of horrible facts. It was the inevitable result of liquor lawlessness. It is frankly admitted that there is smuggling and illicit manufacture, but certain results have been achieved. The saloon has gone for ever and Prohibition will not be repealed.

AGAINST

Lord Salveson in his attack upon Prohibition relied in part upon the difficulty of administering such a law unless it had the support of the immense majority of citizens. After forty-five years of experience in administering the law Lord Salveson had come to see that it was impossible to carry out laws which raised the antipathy of the majority of the male population.

The attempt to rest prohibition on the ground of religion was counted by the speaker to be false to the teaching of the Scriptures. It was a new form of religion, which had no sanction superior to that of Mahomet. Luther, Knox, Calvin were not abstainers. Professors of a pseudo-Christianity were teaching an asceticism akin to that of a certain school of pagan philosophers. It was a Christian asceticism, and it involved an attempt to convict the Christ of sin.

Such legislation would not stop at the prohibition of alcohol. These champions of a false asceticism would proceed to apply their doctrines to certain forms of dancing, to the theatre, and to tobacco. Then Lord Salveson sought to show that drunkenness and crime were increasing in countries under prohibition. Among other arguments he

used was a comparison between the number of premeditated murders in the United States, and those of Great Britain. If there were fifty times as many such murders in 1923 in a country under prohibition as there were in a country where alcohol was sold publicly, what was the moral value of this measure? Contempt for law, corruption and a crop of hypocrisies were ascribed to prohibition. The speaker himself thought that the measures practised in Sweden were more likely to favour true temperance. But he looked for progress chiefly to the teaching of temperance by the Church. Voluntary abstinence should be set forth as a virtue, and drunkenness as a sin which will surely be punished in this world and the next. But it must not be imposed by law as a code of asceticism, bitterly resented by large numbers of citizens.

The system of regulation in Sweden was expounded in a scientific fashion by Professor Bohlin. In the Bratt-system which was in force, an efficient control was exercised over the sale of spirits In order to obtain alcoholic drinks above a certain strength a pass-book was issued to all above twenty-one years of age, entitling each citizen to a certain quantity of drink for three months. For this purpose citizens were grouped in circles. No one could surrender his pass-book in favour of another; and the licensed bodies were strictly enjoined not to sell any liquor to persons belonging to outside circles. The speaker declared that while it had proved a beneficent method in large towns, in the country districts it had led or appeared to lead to the opposite results. It had the great disadvantage of leaving with the citizens the assumption that drinking was a normal fact in the life of every man. There is indeed a strong Prohibition party in Sweden, but it is not strong enough yet to have its way.

The character of the problem, as it is found in Great Britain could not have been trusted to a more experienced speaker than the Rev. Henry Carter, joint honorary secretary of the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches of England and Wales. Largely as the result of war-time experiments, by reduced hours and higher taxation, the alcohol drunk in Great Britain had been greatly reduced. In the decade 1913—1922, the consumption of intoxicating liquors, measured in terms of absolute alcohol, had decreased by 41 per cent., and the convictions for drunken-

ness by 59 per cent. On the other hand expenditure on the purchase of intoxicants increased, owing to the higher taxation by 112 per cent., from £166 millions to £354. And there was a darker side; drinking among women in Britain had increased since the war, and alcohol was at once a barrier to efficiency in industry, and to the spiritual work of the Church.

So far the speakers had been from the English-speaking peoples and Scandinavia, now Professor Gonser the German pioneer in the fight against Alcohol took up the story. He confessed that it cuts into the work of the Church, not superficially, but deeply. Crime, prostitution, disease, and death are the cruel consequences, and the worst perhaps is the growth of shallowness and brutality. The most important duty for the Christian citizen is to increase his own knowledge, to stir the conscience of the public, to see that laws are passed, and to give a good example in voluntary abstinence. In the consumption of alcohol Germany occupies the twenty-second place among the nations. But there are special needs in that country which demand serious work.

From Lausanne Pastor Daulte spoke of alcohol as the greatest obstacle to the kingdom of God. Prohibition would do away, he claimed, with half of the social evils. Senior Schumacher of Jugo-Slavia pointed out that young states need enormous sums of money, which alcohol may bring. Yet it must be fought, for it is contrary to the divine will.

In the afternoon a delegate from Scotland, the Rev. John Mansie, repudiated the attitude which Lord Salveson had taken up towards Prohibition. He himself saw no complete cure, except prohibition, but for that Scotland was not ready. Pastor Monod declared that alcoholism presents an issue of life and death for human society. If the Church does not take up bravely the fight against Alcohol, the Koran will rise up against her.

Pastor Sirenius of Finland spoke on behalf of prohibition. A law that enforced it would prove a unifying force for men of all ranks who desire to co-operate for moral aims. The Swedish system he declared had not stopped the evil. In Finland prohibition was meeting with success, and smuggling was being effectively countered.

Bishop Brent reminded the Conference of the opium trade which rests upon the greed of Western powers; to that trade was largely due the mistrust which the Far Eastern peoples had of the West. After the socialist delegate, H. Allen of Stockholm, had defended the Swedish system, Archbishop Söderblom, summing up, spoke of the necessity that the problems before the Conference should be discussed more fully in all the countries from which the delegates had come. The education of the individual is essential. When once a law has been passed, the Church should support it; but in addition to this Christian associations of all kinds must stir the public to take up the fight against alcohol.

If there were any delegates who had expected the Conference to adopt prohibition as its own prescription for all countries, they must have been disappointed. If others had hoped that the Conference would condemn prohibition, they must have been equally disappointed. The resolutions prepared left the question open; and certainly no other plan was possible. The weakness of the debate was in the failure to come to grips with the real problem before the Conference, not in this session, but in all sessions. *What is the inevitable way of dealing with alcohol for those who accept the Christian Faith with all that is implied in it?* There was throughout the debates a haste displayed to get past the preliminary considerations of theology and ethics to the arguments drawn from political and social expediency. In the last resort the different positions could be traced back to certain fundamental beliefs, which clashed. If two Christian thinkers differ upon the fundamental question of the limits of Christian liberty, there is little hope of their arriving at any agreement in the skirmish of statistics. The real battle in the war with alcohol is fought outside the borders of legislation and science. Much of the debate resembled a demonstration in force of various armies, none of which, however, occupied the real field in force, and none of which could claim the only victory that means anything, the victory which ends in the conversion of others.

Nevertheless the debate upon Alcohol was most useful in clearing the ground. It served moreover as a test whether the Conference could be trusted to discuss in open session a subject upon which feeling ran high. There

was much warmth in the encounter but there was no breach of fellowship. The Conference emerged unbroken.

Before an end is made of this section of *Life and Work* room must be made for the paper of Reichskanzler Luther upon the Influence of Modern Industrial Organization upon the Religious Mind. The German Chancellor had hoped to be present but had been prevented ; his paper was read before the Conference, and by its warmth of religious feeling deeply impressed the members.

In a masterly survey of the changes wrought by modern industry in the life of the worker the statesman showed how both the hand-worker and the brain-worker in these days have been isolated. The individual man is but a link in a chain ; and the employer too is debarred from any inner relation to the employed. The isolation of the worker in industry has had reactions in social and political life. The old forms of social life are being replaced by new. But will the new forms have in them anything that corresponds to the love which was formerly in the old ?

"The wider the circle becomes that needs inner quickening through spiritual relations, the more clear does it become that the source of this can be found only in religion. Every social organization that is built upon religion has a firm foundation in the fact that each human being appears to it then as possessing eternal value. For such a conception the general love for humanity is not merely something that one may have or not have. But regarded from this standpoint, service for the good of all humanity is also a service rendered to God.

In still another way the present industrial organization makes religious life necessary. For the people of to-day the worker of whom I spoke, who merely constitutes a link in an invisible chain of industrial processes, our whole is an epitome of the spiritual attitude. The development of the natural and economic sciences has infinitely widened the range of our knowledge. But the wider our horizon becomes the less we see of the beginning and end, and so much the less are we satisfied with the formulas by means of which we interpret events. Thus we all—even those of us for whom the treasures of knowledge and research lie open—have become more isolated through all the

advances of human spiritual accomplishment; and the spiritual break with the cultural life of the past makes itself more and more apparent. The energetic seeking after new methods of expression in all branches of modern art is a convincing proof of this. All the reality round about us in space and time, that is accessible to our senses, has lost its permanence. Man, however, cannot take root in the contingent, but needs to take root in the absolute. Here, again, our religion can help, as it is just this sense of complete dependence that makes us free in spite of the fluctuations of life.

Thus to me the problems of religion and especially of Christianity with which we deal seem to be greater than ever. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by such appearances of slackness in the life of the Church as are evident in many places throughout the world and even in the individual lives of religious persons. The forms of expression taken by the religious life are part of the stream of historical progress. This, however, can never mean that fixed forms are unnecessary. On the contrary, all inner experience testifies that the individual most easily finds the way to God through the fixed forms with which he has been intimate from childhood. The different forms of religious life and similarly the different churches are subjected to the general law of development, which to-day is seeking to attain a greater cohesion of mankind. Therefore I see in this Universal Conference not merely an evidence of the desire for Practical Christianity, of which our political and social life stands so much in need. Much rather do I regard the Stockholm meetings and indeed the Evangelical Christianity in which I was brought up, and by which I live, as an effort in accordance with the laws coming to expression in the present day, to bring about a closer union of Christendom out of the divisions that have come about during the course of history.

But whatever may grow out of the Stockholm Conference, it will always be a revelation that Christianity is a living force in history. In our isolation we seek help in the spirit of these beautiful words which adorn the cemetery on the German North Sea island of Sylt, where unknown persons drowned at sea are buried.

"We are a folk whom time's swift stream
To earth's lone isle has driven.
Hard do our lives of sorrow seem,
Till Christ release has given.
The Father's house is always near,
However fate may vary.
On Golgotha with Him so dear
The homeless ones may tarry."

CHAPTER VII

THE SECURITY OF THE WORLD

"What I am saying to you to-day was written in sight of our snowfields and glaciers and jagged precipitous mountain walls, never yet trodden by the foot of man. Take it as a greeting from the mountains, as the expression of the overpowering feeling of the awe-inspiring greatness of God. I heard the avalanches roll, thundering and scattering all before them, on their downward course to the valleys, I saw the mists and murky clouds sweeping over the mountains and their weird ghostly hands stretching out on cold stormy days, as though they would fain envelop and smother all life in their darkness: a mighty symbol of the power of Nature in all that comes to pass, before the grandeur of which all human opposition and all the ingenious devices and reasonings of man must be silenced, a symbol also of the chaos which has fallen upon mankind during these last years and to which humanity has helplessly succumbed. But when the bright sun burst forth through the clouds and a radiant sky transfigured the poor earth, then this seemed to me a symbol of God's design for the world and humanity, to create a new heaven and a new earth in which justice shall dwell.

The Swiss, it was once said by one of their leaders, being confined within mountains and valleys, cannot grow and become greater on any side but upwards, towards heaven. Let this word be true also of Christendom. Let it be said of this Stockholm Conference that its doings signify the growth of Christianity upwards towards heaven."

DR. HADORN.

"Perhaps it is the surest proof of the present insecurity that the political leaders of the States so often speak to-day of security; they seek a formula of a 'Security Pact.' There exists no security pact besides that with God and the rebirth of human life under its inspiration. Some time ago there

were rediscovered on shattered leaves some verses of an old Nubian psalm on the Cross. This testimony we shall make œcumenical and effective:

> *" 'The Cross is the hope of the despairing ones,*
> *The light of those sitting in darkness,*
> *The security of the world.' "*
>
> DR. DEISSMANN.

THERE were many who feared that in the discussion of War the Conference would split upon the rocks. The delegates who were assembled belonged for the most part to nations which had been at war with each other. There were scars not the less remembered because they were hidden from sight. In some hearts there were deep racial memories of wars and feuds, when knights rode over the border and carried ruin and death with them. Such memories die hard. Nor do men, when they become Christians, cease to be sensitive to the traditions of their peoples.

There were some who had feared that the burning question of responsibility for the Great War would be raised, or that the provisions of the Peace of Versailles would be the occasion for an open rupture. It would not have been possible to hold a Conference gathered from such nations if there had been any other basis than that of the common Christian faith. But given this as the basis it proved to be possible for men but lately arrayed against each other in war to take common counsel for the peace of the world. "The fact of the Conference was its significance."

It will be necessary to give a brief account of this Report upon the Church and International Relations, under its three headings. First came the report of Sub-committee I, which had to deal with:—

(a) The Universal character of the Church, (b) the duty of the Church to preach the brotherhood of men, (c) what the Church can do to further peace and remove the causes of war, (d) the Christian's duty to the nation and the State and (e) Christian love making for reconciliation and brotherhood.

When this first Sub-Committee met under the chairmanship of Bishop Brent it had before it reports prepared by the Churches in N. America, Great Britain, Czecho-Slovakia, and Switzerland. These were not academic discussions of

present-day international problems, but a clothing with flesh and blood of what would otherwise be a skeleton of ideas.

One report would have preferred "Christendom" to "Christian Churches," but it seemed possible to entrust to the Church nearly all those tasks which might be assigned to Christendom at large. By "Christendom" is meant a concentration of individual powers not necessarily bound to external organization. But the powers of such a Christendom are much more likely to be realized through the old historical organization of the Churches. "There has not been any organization among men and there is not one to-day so specialized for public ends as the Christian Church."

There had come warnings lest the Church by widening its external range should forget the holy obligation of its inner mission. "If our Conference is willing to acknowledge this danger the first step will have been taken towards its removal."

In the American Report it is shown how in the inner history of Christendom during the last two centuries there have been two contrasted types of Christian piety—*the individualistic with its emphasis upon the last things, and the social with its vision of a universal Christian order.* The Commission believed that these types which are found in all the Churches are not exclusive of each other but complementary. How to combine Christian international activity with Christian inwardness, is the outstanding problem.

Among the questions left unsettled was the "Relation of Christianity to War." There were differences of opinion upon the duties of the Christian man. But the world was waiting for as clear a declaration upon War by the Church as upon Slavery or Duelling. Therefore certain resolutions were submitted.

RESOLUTIONS

Resolved :—

(a) That war, considered as an institution for the settlement of international disputes by physical forces, allied to guile and lying, is incompatible with the mind and method of Christ, and therefore incompat ible with the mind and method of His Church.

(b) That War, thus viewed, is the abuse and not the use of force because it attributes to force authority and ability to determine moral values, of which it is incapable.

(c) That the aggressor in war is the nation that will not arbitrate or seek due processes of law and order.

(d) That it is the duty of the Churches to throw their united weight in the direction of the organized fellowship of the nations.

(e) That none of the foregoing resolutions are to be regarded as touching the inherent right of a nation to defend itself against aggression and oppression.

The Report commended the League of Nations to the sympathy and support of all Christians, in the hope that by the enlargement of its membership and the increase of its spiritual influence it might become still more effective for its end. At the time there was added an endorsement of the aims and work of the World Alliance for promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

The Report was introduced by the Bishop of Lichfield, on August 24th. The universal character of the Church and its duty to preach brotherly love were the themes which engaged the Conference in that last session of the day. The Bishop was followed by Professor Zankoff of Sofia and Pastor Férrier of Geneva.

It was not till the morning of August 25th that the storm-centre of the Report was reached. What must the Church do to promote peace between nations? This was the theme, with the resolutions of the Commission for its landmarks, opened by Professor Hadorn. The Congress must remember, he said, that innumerable people were looking to the Congress to lead them nearer to the time when Christianity would act in favour of peace.

Professor Hadorn laid stress upon the tradition of Calvin in his country. Calvin had a belief in an international fellowship on the basis of faith. He laid strong emphasis on the need for inwardness and for penitence—not the penitence which is the mood of a few transient hours spent together.

The second speaker, Bishop Brent, spoke strongly in support of the resolution. The attempt to introduce chivalry into warfare was vain. The Christian Churches

must acknowledge the faith that war can be done away with during the next few generations. If he were a fool to say this, then he was God's fool.

After the Conference had been reminded of the higher way, the Christian way, which alone could banish war, the President of the German Evangelical Church Committee, Dr. Kapler, read a declaration which expressed the mind of the German delegation :—

> The German Delegation takes its stand with upright heart upon the word of the Saviour which calls those blessed and the children of God, who not only so far as it is in their power, preserve peace, but also make peace. They recognize gratefully and warmly the efforts of the Commission, which, impelled by such a spirit of peace, has sought for a formula to solve the problems of war, and for an international organization which will guarantee peace. But they cannot convince themselves that these efforts have been crowned with success. The proposed formulae, although they contain much that is right, do not do full justice to the extraordinary difficulty of the complicated problems, and their unreserved acceptance, contrary to the intentions of the Commission, might lead to fateful misconstruction.
>
> We are taking part in the discussion in expectation that the Conference will not vote on the report of the third Commission, just as they have not voted on the other reports.

This declaration made explicit what was the mind of the German delegates. They were not ready to declare that the weapon of war can be ruled out from the story of mankind in the future.

For the most part the speaking of the American and British Delegation was on the side of strong action against war. The German delegation were clearly more guarded in their hopes, and in particular were critical of the League of Nations. Dr. Klingemann, the General Superintendent of the Rhine Province, made a candid speech, which was received with the evident consent of his fellow-delegates. After giving the warning that the Kingdom of God cannot be placed on a level with the introduction of satisfactory conditions in this human scene he went on to say :—

"We cannot believe in a state of true peace so long as the blessings of peace are denied to our people. We do not know whether God has not fresh judgments in store. His kingdom does not depend upon what we are able to bring about." For such reasons he showed how the question of peace and the hopes fixed upon the League of Nations were not regarded in the same way in Germany as in other lands.

They waited in vain for the disarmament promised in the Treaty of Versailles. The League of Nations had not been founded upon the basis of religion. There were grave problems unsolved concerning minorities of German-speaking people in other lands. "We are suffering, we are working, we are waiting, we are hoping."

That justice must be the foundation of peace, and that there must be a new solidarity based upon Christian unity, were truths driven home by speakers from the Eastern Churches. For them the persecution, which their brethren were enduring in the Orient, was an ever-present sorrow. There was needed more than a national conscience, there must be a Christian conscience, which could be the voice of God ringing through all the Christian nations. Men have drawn too sharp a distinction between war ethics and peace ethics; but no such distinction can be admitted by the Christian people. Senior Peter Wack, a Lutheran from Jugo-Slavia, pronounced the Churches too pessimistic. They must give a wider range to the words "All power is given unto Me." Their presence at the Conference was a witness to the tolerance which can bring together Christians with many varied confessions; why could not be that same toleration shown towards national differences?

Dr. Köhler of Switzerland spoke of the demands which the world was making upon the Church. There is needed a distinct word. For this many who are not nominally Christian, all the doubters, all the scientists are waiting. An unequivocal declaration such as the Swiss Evangelical Church Federation had given to the Conference was needed. But there was hesitation.

In the name of the Church of Huss the Bishop of Olomouc spoke of the loss which his Church had endured, but added, "we will forget and work at the uniform building of the Church." The last speaker was Pastor Gounelle, who was eager to come to an understanding with the Germans, whom he found too pessimistic. He agreed that there was much

poisonous explosive matter in the peace, and that the League of Nations had its defects. But it was a wonderful effort and deserved the support of all nations.

The memory of the Thirty Years' War still lives in Sweden. Is it strange that the memory of the Great War haunted us during those sessions? It coloured the thoughts of the speakers; it checked their presumptuous hopes; it inspired them to prepare the way for that new Christendom, through which across the boundaries of nations Christ Himself at last shall speak.

They were as those who stand where great waters meet, and meet in tumult of sound. The Lutherans were there, thinking deeply and sombrely on ultimate things and not prepared to cherish fanciful hopes for this lost world; there is always a strain of pessimism in German piety, and the soul of a humiliated people tends to despair of the world and to seek refuge in God. The Orthodox from the Near East were there, sensitive to the political factors, but so far with little experience of the ethical applications of Christianity to social and industrial affairs. The French were eloquent, and fervid, and generous in their overtures of goodwill; but the French Social enthusiasts were a minority of a minority and could not pledge their nation. The Americans exuberant, undaunted by tradition, eager to get to the business, were a constant corrective to despondency, and yet they were the first to confess their debt to the European speakers. Nor were the British group without distinctive and indispensable gifts to the wisdom of the Assembly. They came to bring the approach and the spirit of Copec; and no group came better prepared. But what had Stockholm to say upon the duty of the Christian Church in a civilization threatened continually by war? How did this Conference deal in the name of Christ with the kind of world depicted by Lord Grey in his "Twenty-five Years"?

The Americans for the most part stood for the outlawry of war; Bishop Brent spoke in fiery words: "The Church can no more burn incense to a modern state than to an ancient Cæsar . . . . The time has come for a clean declaration on it by the united Churches of the world. Better for the conference to risk a mistake than to hesitate or equivocate." On the other hand the German delegation, acting together, were not prepared to grant that the Christian Church must condemn under all circumstances the use of

the weapon of war. At the same time they showed no less than others their horror of warfare and their desire to co-operate in the League of Nations, though they were ready to criticize it.

There was in the Conference a common mind. It is here, but this had not advanced to the point where definite action such as the American delegates desired could be recommended *in the name of the whole Conference.*

RACE

The Report upon the Church and Race Problems covered much ground. First it laid down the significant facts which the Church in the modern world must face. Man has a new mastery over nature, which cannot be reserved for the white races ; this new knowledge has abolished geographical barriers ; at the same time it has made material interests supreme, and forced moral ideals into the background. In such a time the Church must abandon one-sided individualism, and claim the whole of life for its gospel.

From the Christian point of view, the existence of diverse races is a part of the Divine plan for mankind. Because of this fact man already enjoys a vast wealth of achievements, but interchange of the higher goods has been accompanied by enmity, suspicion, arrogance and other vices.

We are discovering how all the diverse racial and cultural characteristics rest on a common and universal human nature. All races have incalculable potentialities. All are capable of experiencing the grace of God through Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Bible and the Church. The ideal goal will be reached through the development of each to its greatest perfection in freedom and in friendly intercourse

After an acknowledgment of the equality of races in Christ in the moral relationship established by His grace, the Report proceeded to discuss urgent issues, three in number —the problem of primitive peoples and material resources in undeveloped countries—the problem of training subject-peoples for self-government—the problem of China. In this way the Report moved logically to a discussion of Race Migration and of Intermarriage.

" Our knowledge of the facts about the intermixture of races is as yet very limited. We cannot claim to have

attained any established results of experience. We cannot therefore condemn any particular inter-racial marriages as immoral because they have always led to bad results. But wise men will discourage unions between persons widely different in race, civilization, social rank, education and tradition—although both Christians—because the results are only too likely to be unhappy."

The last section showed how the cause of Foreign Missions is seriously endangered by unchristian international conduct and policy.

The report upon Race was introduced by the Bishop of Bombay. Three pictures were taken by him from the life of Jesus, the talk of Jesus with the woman of Samaria, His dealing with the Roman centurion, and the story of the woman of Canaan; with the help of these pictures the speaker discussed the equality and inequality of human beings. All men are equal in that they have sinned and need salvation in Christ, who died for all. Sainthood is open to all who accept His redemption. There is moreover a real equality in the presence of the moral order. Justice, mercy and loyalty are virtues which all may attain, not virtues of black, yellow, brown and white, but universal. But Jesus acknowledged two kinds of inequality, first, *the Inequality of Capabilities*. He refused to have anything to do with the Jewish National movement. He freely acknowledged an inequality of national capabilities even though that involved the acknowledgment of the inferiority of his own countrymen. And He acknowledged also the *Inequality of Privileges*. The Jews had a privilege over against the other peoples. But for that very reason the responsibility laid upon His people was all the greater. When the so-called higher races look upon their superiority in this light there will be few race problems.

Dr. Richter, the missionary statesman, dealt with difficulties in the way of Christian relations between the races. There was, for example, the disposal of the material resources in undeveloped lands. The people in these lands are unable to deal effectively with adventurers. The expansion of the European States in foreign lands is a result of the backwardness of these people. Grave injustice has been done; but this must not blind the observers to the blessings which have come through the Christian Missionary enterprise. The economic resources of unde-

veloped lands must be unlocked, but not for the advantage of the white man only. *The spirit of partnership must enter into these relations.* Furthermore the subject-peoples must be trained for self-government. This is a problem peculiarly acute in India, where the policy of the Government of the last few years has had as its aim to educate India for Swaraj. The situation is not the same in China. That great country has not been dominated by the white race, but the people feel that unfair treaties, special economic and extra-territorial rights for foreigners impose intolerable humiliation upon the national life. The Chinese resent the interference of foreign races in their inner policy. For such a serious event as the disturbances in Shanghai of May and June, only in a just and far-reaching revision of treaties could a remedy be found.

So long as the white man penetrated into the lands of other races, and they did not seek to enter the white man's country, the problem was simpler than it is now. There are new and grave difficulties arising now that the non-white races are seeking entrance into lands occupied by the whites. Has any race a right to forbid a foreign race to enter its country and settle there? Have over-populated countries a moral right to send their citizens into thinly-populated countries? In these complicated questions the Church has to give a solution in accordance with Christian principles, which rest not on the foundation of a selfish policy of interest, but only on that of brotherliness and good will.

Two speakers followed whose presence and words deeply moved the assembly. Dr. William Bell, a negro Bishop of the Methodist Church from America, spoke in the name of his own race with a grave sincerity and frankness. The negro race above all others had reason to seek for a solution of the race problem. It had become aware of its own calling and powers. The dark races could never acquiesce in the former order. What use it will make of these powers depends upon the Christian Church. The race question does not consist in the regulation and relations between a higher race and a lower, nor between an unmoral and a moral, but the five races are like five fingers on the hand of God.

"We are entering," he said, "upon a new era of racial relations in America. We refuse to be considered as an

inferior race that cannot be trusted after dark. We do not desire racial amalgamation and are just as anxious as the whites to preserve our racial integrity. We ask only mutual co-operation."

It was one of the inevitable weaknesses of the Stockholm Conference that its delegates were largely from the white races. There was all the more significance in the speech of this gifted spokesman of a race which is waiting, as it would appear, for the choice of the other races, how they will have them, as helpers or foes?

Miss F. J. Fan spoke for China with wit and courage. All races, she said, were under the impression that they were superior races. How did that arise, except from ignorance of other races and from the incapacity to understand each other? Both come finally from selfishness and the lack of vision.

"The unjust actions and injuries inflicted by the so-called strong and superior upon the supposedly weak and inferior races are a constant source of race difficulty. Some attribute them to economic conditions, others to social customs, but what lies at the bottom of the whole business is summed up in the word *selfishness*. This selfishness is strengthened by short-sightedness, by the lack of imagination, and by the absence of moral pride. Are we to allow this selfishness to govern our relations between nations and races? Let us hope not!"

THE CHURCHES AND WORLD PEACE

At a later sesssion public addresses were delivered by Lord Parmoor, Pastor Jézéquel, Dr. Deissmann, and Dr. Gulick. *What can the Church do to further World Peace?* was the theme. Lord Parmoor put on the debit side in the history of the Church its readiness to persecute, and to appeal to the sword; on the credit side was the support which it had given to efforts made to uplift humanity. Christianity was not opposed to patriotism, but it taught that in the dealings between nations the resort to force must be replaced by the new way of bearing one another's burdens. The law that obtains in personal affairs must be put into practice in communal life. This is difficult but necessary. No genuine reliance in justice can be expected so long as the nations remain in arms. Germany had a

right to demand universal disarmament; without this, real peace was impossible. Christians must therefore support the organization of nations in a federation; all members of the Christian community must give up fear and mistrust and work together in real confidence. The life of the believers in Christ must be a revelation of God for the world.

M. Jézéquel pleaded that the Church must now declare war against war. He did not stand for peace at any price, for justice was above all; because he wanted peace, he demanded justice. The League of Nations had made a breach in the wall of the enemy. The Church must become the careful watchman and servant of the League.

The four speakers, said Dr. Deissmann, did not treat the subject as internationalists, but as citizens of their own nation; no one could speak on such a subject without a deep consciousness of thankfulness and loyalty to his own people; there was no desire in that Conference to produce a "uniform drab and inert mass of millions of standardized men." The co-operation of many Christians from many nations for a common task was the aim before the Conference.

The Church must know itself as a lighthouse to shed the light of the Gospel throughout the world.

"There is a Japanese proverb, which during the last few months has caused me serious thought, and which may come home to our Conference with a powerful appeal. 'There is darkness at the foot of the lighthouse.' This saying brings before us vividly the danger to which we are exposed, when we assign to the Church the world-wide task of bringing about understanding among the peoples. It is quite possible for us to undertake all possible methods of international activity between people and people—congresses, mutual visitation, correspondence, an organized press service—and yet to overlook the one essential, that we begin our work of international Christian reconciliation at home, that we illuminate the territory that surrounds the lighthouse itself till what was dark once becomes as light as day. We may apply to our own international fold the serious and earnest words spoken by the Bishop of Saxony to our Conference—when, after recognizing the responsibility of the Church in the economic and individual sphere, he went on to say that the Churches

have done within the field, for which they are permanently responsible, far too little to make them effective instruments in the wider territory of individual—and we may add international affairs."

Behind all the hopes and the calls of Stockholm there had been "Bethesda" where the bond of love had been shown in practical relief during the years which followed the war. Brotherly love in action had come first. There was International Service in plenty to be rendered. The Church should organize an œcumenical service through a network of personal relations.

An international news agency should transmit the great lines of ecclesiastical developments; an exchange of students and of professors should give a wider mutual influence to the spiritual work of the theological faculties; synods and church conferences should be enriched by friendly visits from neighbour churches, and in all churches. A selection might be made of younger ministers and laymen, who combine linguistic attainment with a thorough knowledge of the characteristics of the Churches and peoples of neighbouring lands, and who might therefore interpret them to each other.

What can the Churches do after the War? Preach Christ; proclaim His will as Master and Brother; re-cast men after His image; vivify by His Spirit the cold self-centredness of our surroundings; change hatred into confidence by His love; remove our lies by His truth; cast out injustice by His justice.

After Dr. Deissmann had ended with the plea that in the Cross was the security of the world, Dr. Gulick gave expression to the faith which is growing in power within the conscience and mind of the American Churches.

"We believe in one humanity comprising all nations and races. We believe in one immutable moral law for all mankind, obedience to which is required of nations. We believe the time has come for the nations to abolish the war system and to establish a new system of international relations, based on reason, righteousness and goodwill. We believe in the progressive establishment of international law and the use of the tribunals of justice, arbitration and conciliation as substitutes for war. We believe that a war of aggression should be declared by the Church an international sin and by nations an international crime.

We believe in a sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations and the final abolition of all preparations for war."

THE WORLD ALLIANCE

On the 26th, the first consideration was given to the *World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship*. For this Alliance so intimately related to the *Life and Work* Conference, Sir Willoughby Dickinson spoke :—

" If mere words could keep the world from war we might adjourn and return home at once, certain that the vision of the Prophet Isaiah would be realized. Peace, however, is not a plant that lives on air. . . . The World Alliance was organized to promote international friendship through the Churches. It has branches in twenty-eight different nations. Each branch is bound to secure as many individual members among its churchmen as possible, to propose and adopt a constitution in keeping with the purpose of the World Alliance and to report its doings each year to the International Office in London. Already the Alliance has done much to promote friendship between individual members in the Churches. They meet as strangers, they disperse as acquaintances, and the next time they meet as friends. This sense of friendship with Christians in other countries is giving permanent confidence and courage to us all. It is probable that these meetings have had little or no effect upon the politicians, but it is also true that the Kingdom of Heaven was likened by our Lord to the little leaven hid in a measure of dough." Sir Willoughby concluded by asserting that, so far, most of the efforts of the Alliance have been spent in setting up the machinery, but now it must have the moral and material support needed to accomplish its great aim.

Dr. Richter delighted the British and American delegates by his account of the progress of the Alliance in Germany, and by his fervent hope that within a measurable time the existing difficulties might be removed and both Germany and the U.S.A. be in the League. Dr. Lynn Harold Hough of Detroit pleaded for a League of friendly minds. In a brief and stimulating address he condemned the rise of inter-racial and sectarian hatred engendered by that abominable organization, the Ku Klux Klan.

He then stated that if ever international understanding through the Churches was to become a reality we must have an international mind trained through the Churches to appreciate, sympathise and understand the contributions of other nations through the thought-life, and the heart-life to the social welfare of humanity. Before we can make the League of Nations a reality we must have a league of minds and of hearts. "If the Church is to save the heart of this world, it must take the world into its heart."

SOME JOTTINGS

To bring about a reconciliation between France and Germany is the task of the Alsatian Church.

If the Churches are Christianised the whole world will become Christian.

"Life and Work" can use the experience already won by the World Alliance.

Every Christian should speak a second language.

The pessimism of the German is the pessimism of Luther whom Germany has to thank for the renewal of its faith rather than Wycliffe or Huss.

Science also must build bridges between nations.

It is the cunning of the devil that makes Christians under-rate the forces which separate, and to conjure up before them a unity where none exists.

Large Churches must cease from desiring to assimilate the national and religious minorities and give up proselytizing. Furl the confessional flags and unfurl the banner of Christ.

The Syrian Church which once extended from Europe to Japan is now shattered. Gather up the fragments! Give to this Church a home and life!

Childhood, youth, womanhood in the Churches should be brought into relations and practical sympathy with other nations. This has been done in Wales.

The Church, one delegate said, had left youth without guidance during the War.

At the close the Bishop of Winchester told of a German student who laid a wreath at the foot of a war memorial in Cambridge in token that he had overcome the spirit of war. In penitence and in hope the Conference must go to their homes.

LAW OR WAR

Not yet was the Report upon International Relations finished. At the closing session of the 26th, three learned addresses upon the subject were delivered, the first by Baron Marks von Wurtemberg, President of the Svea Court of Appeal. Landmarks he said were not wanting for those who care for the organization of peace. The League of Nations had already done good service. The Permanent Court was a real College of Judges. Given a spirit of self-denial on the part of the great Powers, many difficulties could be solved by the means already existing. But there are problems not to be settled by such a court—problems for example of the raw materials of the world, or colonial questions, or those that concern minorities. Things cannot remain always as they are to-day; territorial changes must come to pass, and there will be disputes arising from what are counted vital interests; in such matters more trust can be put in the mediatory influence of the League, or the Council than in Arbitration.

"I am, however, of the opinion," he said—"I will not attempt to disguise this—that if an international peace organization which is capable of reducing the danger of war to a minimum is conceivable at all, such an organization must in some degree assume the character of a super-State, or in other words, that the present idea of sovereignty must in some measure be abandoned. Possibly the solution of the peace problem is to be sought in a slow process of evolution, whereby the League of Nations is gradually consolidated into a combination of this nature, a new form of United States. However this may be, such a radical transformation of the present international situation, if conceivable at all, would seem to be for the moment entirely outside the sphere of practical politics."

Is there then ground for hope that a new spirit is at work more germane to Christianity? The speaker attached no real value to the extreme pacifist movement. Nor had he any hope that soon it would be possible to relegate to the past the days when the mysterious and fateful laws of mass psychology can inflame the passions. But education can begin. The Churches have their natural place in the ranks of those who work for peace and justice.

Mr. Harold Buxton claimed for the Gospel that it came

to expand, consecrate and fulfil the natural law by which all just rulers must be bound. Jesus Christ came not only as Saviour, but as the giver of a new law and to inaugurate a new order of society. This has needed definition and application; and the story of the Christian Church must be read to discover its implication.

There was a time when the unity of Europe was taken for granted. That came to an end. National Churches were everywhere fettered by state-control. To rationalism there succeeded economic imperialism, shown for example in the exploitation by the great Powers of the West of the undeveloped resources of Africa.

The Church needs to speak with a united voice; to take the rôle of a disciple; to bring its message into relation to every phase of life, and to have no respect of persons.

The third of the speakers, Superintendent Wolff had to deal with *Justice, not Force, the Divinely-willed Basis of International Relations.* The dilemma the speaker declared to be a merely human formula, and to a searching and destructive analysis of it he devoted part of his speech. It is difficult to speak in the name of God. They who speak of such matters as the divinely willed basis of international relations ought to avoid even the slightest semblance of conscious or unconscious hypocrisy.

But what have we to say about these matters *in the name of God?*

Luther once spoke about the good and gracious will of God, which frustrates and prevents all evil counsels and all evil will. To this end God sometimes makes use of force, force which is executed by man. Who dare reproach Him, if He wills this? Who can? He is the Lord and also *the judge of* His instruments.

Jesus once said to a man who pleaded his rights before him: Who made me a judge or divider over you?

The mission of the Church of Christ in this world of hard facts is prophetic. Prophets draw up no programme. They only preach repentance. They proclaim the majesty and loving-kindness of God, and holy obedience, and the ministry of love.

They say, like John the Baptist, in the face of the mighty: "That is not right"—and they say it not only to mighty kings, but also to mighty peoples, and they witness that God says at His appointed time: Thus far and no further!

They witness, like Jesus, before the self-righteous and the self-satisfied: Suppose ye that these Galileans were sinners above all the Galileans, because they suffered such things? I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

They witness to the word of Jesus: Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you. But, whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister. And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant. Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

That witness is the duty of the Christian Church. This is more difficult to-day then ever. Civilization has made the peoples more brutal in their struggle for existence and in their lust of power. And because it treats everything rationalistically, it rationalizes also the holy commands of God, and drags them down to a low human level.

It is a temptation for the Christian Church to interpret in human terms the sublime command of God in regard to international relations. But the Church of Christ must be greater than her times, if she wishes to be the voice of God, even as her God is greater than any times.

CHAPTER VIII

HANDING ON THE COMMUNITY-LIFE

Three lines of study, German, American and British, convened in the Report upon Christian Education (Commission IV), which was presented by Dr. W. Adams Brown, on August 27th.

If the Church is to bring to bear upon the life of this time its spiritual resources, then it must give serious attention to education. An education which marvellously increases man's mastery over nature without increasing his goodwill is a source of danger and obstruction. The Christian Church is challenged by the world to give it a new generation in which brotherhood is not only preached, but practised. What answer can the Church give ?

Education must aim at the development of a full personality. For that new corporate hope more is needed than knowledge. Goodwill is needed ; and therefore the Church must be concerned chiefly with *the enrichment of personal experience.* Through this there will come into human relationship a transforming Christian element. From all lands there is revealed an eager desire that youth may be trained in such a way as to diminish the bitterness of race, and to make it possible, through co-operative planning, for all men everywhere to enjoy their daily bread. Education must be brought into relation to the present situation. In its training of its youth the Church must never forget the world in which youth must play its part.

Every other line of enquiry leads to the problem of education. If nations clash, it is because their desires clash. Where there is no common object and allegiance, strife is inevitable. The world needs a common loyalty, a fact which is being realized more and more in education. This is defined as the process by which one generation attempts to transmit to its successors the insight and experience which will enable each individual to develop his capacities to the full not only for his own sake, but for

the sake of his nation and of humanity. The school becomes a miniature society—a copy of the mighty world.

Such a view of education with all its perils should be welcomed by the Christian Church. Modern pedagogy, and modern psychology should be most helpful, so long as man's social responsibilities are not interpreted in purely secular terms. It is the Church's duty to point out the inadequacy of any purely materialistic philosophy. Christianity is not first of all a philosophy ; the Church exists to witness to a transforming power of a life-giving Saviour—not to teach brotherhood, but to live the life of brothers.

Here is the root of failure ! We have preached brotherhood and lived as strangers, sometimes as enemies.

There is needed a body for the life-giving spirit. In the present age there are social units, so vast, so compact, and so highly centralized as to limit the power of the individual. The Labour movement, the associations of employers, the youth movement, races in rivalry ! In the presence of these groups there is a definite challenge to the Christian Church. Points of contact will be sought, but the Church must not surrender its own standard, for any less comprehensive goal.

Three things can be done : One, the Church must definitely recognize her interest in all departments of man's corporate life; it must seek points of contact with the other social groups, as for example group meetings of employers. Within the range of life, directly under her control, the Church must apply its own principles.

Through all her agencies the Church must train her members to be sensitive to every form of human need. Sympathy with those of other races : a desire for social justice : and a reliance upon the Christian method of love as the only way finally effective to transform society—these were among the counsels given in the report.

All the reports agreed upon the supreme importance of the teacher, and upon the central place of the Bible, which must be given again its rightful place as the great textbook of religion.

In presenting the Report, Dr. W. A. Brown declared that the supreme question was how the Christian Church could carry Christianity into all human life. Education must begin at home. The assertion that a Christian life for society was impossible was traceable to the failure of

Christian people to exhibit that life. If the Church would win the heart of the world it must carry the whole world in its heart.

Since it was understood that the supreme task of the Church is to deal with personality it was important that this subject should be discussed specifically as it was by Dr. Carnegie Simpson.

There are three credentials in personality. Liberty is the first. Personality must realize itself, and this it cannot do if it is deprived of liberty. Personality is liberty of soul. The type of character approved in the Church often suggests faith in rather a narrow and sombre morality, or at least in a conventional morality rather than in a personality original and strong. But there is no doubt what is the true teaching of Christ. In Christianity man does not lose himself in God nor cramp himself in traditions, but finds himself in Christ. Christianity is a religion founded upon liberty.

Personality must also be *social.* Robinson Crusoe on his island would soon have lost all that which makes up personality except so far as this is sustained by memory. It was necessary to introduce Friday. The third element is that a man must be not a spectator but an actor. Personality must be in relation with the real world. That is why there are more true personalities among the poor than among the rich. Moral courage, shown in action, is needed; no coward has personality. A true personality must know how to be itself; it must be capable of understanding, and helping all men; it must dare all to which destiny calls it. Since the supreme personality who perfectly fulfils this ideal is Jesus Christ, the end of Christian education must be the creation and development of men in Christ Jesus. It was in harmony with this thought that a later speaker said: "'I' can only become 'I' as I bend before the 'Thou' of God."

In America the Churches by their schisms have made it necessary to keep a conspiracy of almost complete silence concerning religion in the public schools and universities. This was reported by the Bishop of Rhode Island, Dr. Perry. We must return to the religious principles Father Tribe urged, and Theology, "the queen of the sciences," must not be despised. In no case, he said, can religious education dispense with dogma. General Superintendent Burghart, of Berlin,

pleaded that co-operation between home, school and church was indispensable. For the children the mother-soil of the home culture and above all their mother-tongue must be maintained, where there is a question of minorities. Even if the State is impartial in religious matters, parents have a right to demand religious education for their children.

EDUCATION FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONSCIENCE

From this general subject it was a natural transition to the *Education for an International Conscience*. This was introduced by Mr. E. F. Wise. The problem of the Church is how to create such a public opinion that the carrying out of the mind of Christ in public life becomes possible. This can only be solved by the education both of children and adults. Theology may be valuable, but it has little interest for laymen. From the Church no compromises are expected—these come of themselves—but a clear decided leading in the question of practical life. How differently would problems in China or Morocco be dealt with, if the Christian principle was brought to bear upon them! In time of war the Church should not goad national passions, but should work for a better understanding of the enemy. The Quakers and such men as Nansen and Hoover by their practical service have done more to keep Christianity alive in Europe than the Churches.

How much depends upon the teacher was shown by Bishop Ostenfeld of Seeland. In the Danish national universities the teachers are serious Christians, and the result can be seen in the Danish peasant population.

Dr. Herold brought from the Swiss Federation Church a message to the world; it condemned in expressive language "every policy of force, every thought of revenge, all economic egoism," and called upon Christian Churches everywhere to raise the prophetic voice of goodwill above the chaos of human passion. In the spirit of the Geneva Protocol it urged the settlement of all conflicts by the obligatory Court of Arbitration: the protection of international right and the security of the nations by the League of Nations; progressive disarmament on the basis of international agreement. And in the name of Christian solidarity it protested against the oppression of the evangelical minorities. It invited all the Churches represented in

Stockholm to join in a common and universal demonstration against war, and solemnly to affirm their faith in the victory of peace.

The Lutheran Bishop in Slovakia Dr. Janoska reminded the Conference that his countryman Comenius, long ago taught that education should inspire the young with the ideas of agreement among the nations, and of peace. "May it become a matter of course to the young that there must be no privileged nations and none deprived of their rights, no master-nations and no slave-nations." But along with the education of the young goes the education of the adult. This is done by the daily press. No more practical aim could be set before the Conference than to Christianize the press.

Lic. Stange of Leipzig declared that all the solemn decisions of the Conference would be useless unless the sympathy and interest of youth were aroused. World-fraternity does not come through outward things, but must grow from within. The task before the Church is to lead men again to Jesus Christ through whom they will enter into a right relation to God; then fraternity will come of itself. The best gift which we can give the young people is the Bible, the international and world-wide book.

The removal of trashy literature and the preservation of children from Chauvinism were duties impressed upon the Conference by Archbishop Stephan. Bishop Zoch of Pressburg said that though war is a terrible thing, it is also a tool in the hand of God. In the last war five nations regained their freedom.

Three practical counsels were laid down by the Rev. William Blackshaw of Highgate, London. We must understand each other's languages. In any case the English—the worst offenders—must learn more than one language. We must learn the culture of other nations. We must take care that our young people learn to know other nations and therefore we should undertake journeys to foreign countries with them, and prepare for these beforehand.

It would be impossible to close even this scanty record without some reference to the plea made by Bishop Gwynne of Egypt, for a better understanding between the Churches of the East and the West. The significance of the presence of the representatives of the Orthodox Church has been

mentioned more than once. It was left to Dr. Gwynne, who had spent twenty-six years in Egypt and the Sudan, to interpret the meaning of this.

It was his conviction that the leaders towards Re-union had marched far in advance of the rank and file. He spoke of the result which centuries of persecution had had, and of the division in the Greek Orthodox Church, the five Patriarchs of which had not met in synod for centuries. Western politicians had used them too long as pawns. "We have called them dead Churches, but I wonder whether we should have done as well as they have. . . . Are we surprised that while we view the world as the field for the Kingdom of God, they are looking on it with fear and suspicion lest they should be seized and absorbed, and all that they have guarded for centuries blotted out? Yet it cannot be that God has brought them through tribulation for naught." We cannot afford to let any of these ancient Churches drop out of the high enterprise of evangelizing the world.

How, then, are we to break down the barriers which keep us apart?

1. We must pursue our efforts to make friends—through conferences, mutual visits, united services, and the learning of each other's languages.

2. We must avoid any appearance of patronage, minimise our criticism of their shortcomings, magnify their strong points and praise them for their endurance for the name of Christ.

From time to time members of their Churches find their spiritual home in ours. Let us be frank with them and glad if they return to their own Churches with renewed faith.

3. It is very difficult for them to understand why the Western Christians have done so little for their persecuted brethren in the East, why persecuted, massacred and sometimes forced to deny their faith, they have cried and cried in vain, while the powerful Christian nations of the West paid no heed. They are grateful for the material help given to them in their distress, but they cannot understand why the great Western powers did not exercise their strength and give back to the Greek Orthodox Church—as the Turks themselves expected and the Greeks deserved—their own beloved Cathedral of St. Sophia, of Constantinople. That act would have forged the strongest

link between the Eastern and Western Churches. The West missed that splendid chance. Nor can they understand why, even now, for mere policy, we failed to deliver their fellow Christians out of the hands of their enemies. They ask that " they too, being delivered out of the hands of their enemies, might serve Him without fear."

4. In regard to the Greek Orthodox Church, we must urge our statesmen in our several countries to make it easy for the five Patriarchs to meet in synod ; for, until that is held, they are seriously hindered from any united action.

5. While everywhere groups of kindred bodies in Europe and America, as well as in the mission field, are studying grounds of agreement with a view to unity, we should ask that the Eastern Churches may do the same. There seems to be no doctrinal obstacle to such an union.

6. In the meantime, we must continue to co-operate wherever possible in the social and moral welfare of the people amongst whom we dwell, on the lines of C.O.P.E.C., and with the support of the Y.M.C.A.

7. There is little use attempting agreement of doctrine ; his experience had been that it serves no useful purpose in the present stage of our understanding. It must be that the great Father of us all estimates the love that we have for each other—comradeship—fellowship—of more value than any bitter controversy upon our views of His nature. Would to God the Christian Church had always realized that !

The visit of some of the Greek ecclesiastics to London and Stockholm, where they have been brought into close touch with our people, by conferences, by social functions, by visits to our homes, by the attendance of our services, is doing more towards Re-union than any hasty attempts to come to an agreement on doctrine.

The East and the West are meeting, and in the meeting there must be a clash of ideals, and misunderstandings, but there are signs that they desire to know each other better. It will not be soon, but the time is coming when the Christians of the East, who hold on to their faith with consummate tenacity, will join with the Christians of the West in their struggle to carry out the plan and purpose which God has for the whole world.

There was still one more sub-section of this Commission work—the question of Text-Books used in education.

TEXT-BOOKS

In no Commission had more careful work been done than in this; but of necessity its detailed examination of the books, used in many countries, cannot be summarized even in this sketch. Only the general suggestions laid before the Conference can be given:

1. The Œcumenical Church Conference commends a system of instruction in history . . . which according to the results of critical research should judge contentious questions in politics with the utmost possible objective veracity; which should refrain from hasty and disparaging generalizations about the national character of competing or hostile peoples but on the contrary should recognize their several contributions to the work of civilization and spiritual progress;

2. The Conference expresses its full and grateful adherence to the movement which has been taken up by various organizations for peace and mutual understanding against one-sided and rancorous nationalism in the schools. . . .

3. The Conference, now that the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches and the European Centre of the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace have initiated a general investigation of historical and geographical text-books since the war, recommends a co-operation between these two and other similar organizations for the maintenance and continuation of that investigation in a universal and impartial spirit;

4. The Conference with this aim should appoint a Committee which, by means of freely-chosen fellow-workers in various countries, should follow the development of text-book literature, through the medium of pedagogical reviews make the teachers acquainted with their observations, and also sum them up in an inquiry which might possibly be repeated from time to time. The Conference should ask the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches to advise its National Councils to select members of that committee, and for initiating the work the Education Commission of the World Alliance for Promoting Friendship through the Churches, should act as an Interim Committee.

5. The Conference on its part recommends that if an international organ should be created by the Conference for promoting mutual understanding between the peoples, that organ should take over the management or the supervision of the text-book inquiry.

6. The Conference declares that an increased co-operation especially between teachers of history in various civilized countries is extremely desirable for promoting the aims above mentioned.

In the course of the discussion which was opened by Professor Otto Nordenskjöld, the celebrated South Pole explorer, some things became clear. More organizations than one had been making inquiries; it was plain that in the different countries there were numerous manuals, in particular of history and geography, which must increase hatred and misunderstanding between the nations. Two remedies are possible—to influence the teachers, and to alter the manuals, but unless the teachers were in sympathy with the change, no alteration of manual will gain much. By a careful exhibition of the wrong done, something might be attempted to educate the authors and to shape public opinion.

There was no desire expressed that the teaching of history should be manipulated for peace propaganda. That would be as clear a betrayal of truth as the use of it for Chauvinist ends. There was at least one protest raised from the German benches against a passage in the Report; in making this protest, Oberkonsistorialrat Scholz of Berlin took occasion to add that Christ left the peoples their Christian right to their culture; not from internationalism does a nation become strong, but from the moral strength of the nation humanity is strengthened.

What can be done by the provision of libraries, and the instruction of mothers, and the closer fellowship of teachers, was described by various speakers. One speaker proposed a chair for Christian unity in each theological faculty. At the close of the session the Archbishop of Sweden recalled a monument which King Oscar of Sweden erected in Lund in the year 1876. It was two hundred years after a war between Denmark and Sweden. The inscription ran:

"Here the peoples of the same race fought and bled. Their successors, now reconciled, have set up the memorial. (Versöhnte Nachfolger haben den Denkstein errichtet)."

THE SEQUEL

The Conference itself was soon over; it was itself the end of long preparations, but it was to be the signal for new enterprises to begin. In a world more and more bound together it is impossible for Churches to remain isolated. The *Life and Work* Conference had seen lines along which the Churches might move together upon tasks of service; but whether they would hear the call would depend upon the willingness of the members to count themselves to be instruments for the Divine Forces.

Since the Conference took the nature and purpose of God for the basis of its thought and action, all its future work must depend on its realization that the Church is more than an association more or less efficient for certain practical purposes; it is *the Body of Christ.* It must not seek to discover a new doctrine but strive to realize what is already in the Christian Faith. No individual and no Church must be regarded as surrendering sacred convictions. The divisions of Christendom may be viewed in two ways; on one side they witness to narrowness and sin; but on another side they correspond to differences in religious and national history, and temperament. The Conference did not have within its province to alter the creeds of the individual Churches. Each Church must do its own work in its own way, but it may be enriched and inspired by intercourse with others.

In the practical life of to-day and to-morrow there will be a vast field in which, in the presence of God, all doubts as to His holy will must needs disappear. Much can be done in concert. The continuation of the Conference ought not to be a rigid organization, nor a legislative institution, but a really efficient agency for service.

"If such an agency should try to dominate, it would get no influence. If it can justify itself through really helpful service, it may grow into something larger.

"In any case we believe that with faith and patience we shall be guided to a development in the future in accordance with the will of God. And for that future we may derive encouragement and light from the progress of the past."

Between 1920 and 1925 much was done. Many new forms of co-operation were begun. So spontaneous and so

general were they that they soon gave evidence of an inner spiritual unity already existing. In Missionary Boards, in Sunday School work, in Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Student Christian movements, the same spirit was at work. Churches too have become federated within individual nations. Denominational groups have held world-conferences. The World Alliance has brought members of the scattered Churches together from many lands. Much of this co-operation has taken the form of practical service, such as was exemplified by the Bethesda Conference of 1922, and the Central Bureau for Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe. And in such a list mention should be made of the International Missionary Council and Copec.

"Where the spheres and areas of co-operation have been many and varied, the main forms have been:—Evangelism; Social Service, including Industrial Relations; Temperance and other interests of society as a whole; International Relations, including the war against war; Race Relations; Christian Education; Religious Publicity; Mercy and Relief and Home and Foreign Missions."

In the light of this progress, there was good reason for planning the following-up of the Conference, upon which so many movements had converged.

The Commission therefore recommended:—

I. That the Conference appoint a Continuation Committee from its present membership, international in character and as broadly representative as practicable, with duties which should include the following:—

1. To perpetuate and strengthen the spirit of fellowship which this Conference so happily exemplifies.
2. To publish the proceedings of the Conference in official and also in popular form.
3. To carry on the work of the Conference and to consider how far and in what ways its practical suggestions may be made operative.
4. To gather information regarding the methods of co-operation among the Churches in the various countries for the objects which are the concern of the Conference, to counsel with them as to methods of closer international co-operation, to do what may be found wise to facilitate the formation of such agencies in countries where they do not now exist,

and to issue from time to time such publications as will serve to keep the Churches informed regarding the work of the Committee, and such other matters as are germane to the purpose for which the Committee exists.

5. To consider the practicability of holding another Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work at some future date.

II. That the Continuation Committee consist of 67 members, due care being exercised to make it as representative as practicable, both geographically and denominationally, the membership for this purpose to be distributed as follows :—

American Section	13
British Section	10
European Continental Section	20
Eastern Orthodox Church Section Oriental	12
Churches in other lands which are not represented in the preceding sections	12

The distribution in the last section is to be as follows ; Australia 1, Canada 1, China 2, India 2, Japan 2, South America 1, Near East 1, South Africa 2.

III. That the Committee shall not attempt to raise or administer funds, except for the expenses that are necessary for the proper discharge of its duties, and that it be authorized to seek contributions for this purpose.

The Commission voted to nominate to the International Committee the four Presidents of the Conference, the Vice-President of the European Continental Section, the General Secretary of the International Committee, and the three Secretaries of this Commission, to serve as an Ad Interim Committee to convene the Continuation Committee, and to act for and in its behalf until it shall be able to function.

The unity of the Churches, said Dr. Macfarland, one of the pioneers of *Life and Work*, is a demonstration of the Spirit of God. We have our true unity in the Master, Who washed the feet of the disciples. Dr. Keller told of the first attempt at co-operation between the American and European Churches. That was the great interdenominational, and international relief work which followed upon the Bethesda Conference. Dr. Pechmann, the President

of the German Church Assembly, began in English and continued in German. It was necessary that the German voice should not be missing in the confession. It is a question of Life and Work, but life is not firstly a life of this world. Life is in Christ, and begins with us, if we have experienced the forgiving grace of God by faith. So we have in Him the real unity which joins us across all gulfs. Where life is there is also activity. All life works according to its own laws; there are laws here on earth, and others in glory. But the Church has to plant and foster that everlasting life. It must however take care that in Christianizing the world, it does not secularize Christianity.

America has a special field of service for the Churches in the immigrants of every faith and order who enter its borders; in this service it needs the help of the European Churches. America has led the way in the federation of its Churches; England and other nations must do the same work within their own borders.

We have reached the cross-ways, Professor Monnier of Paris declared. If the Spirit of Christ does not work at this hour, then the Church and the world are lost. In such an hour old quarrels must be buried so that the Christian Church may unite to save the soul of humanity.

Each Church needs the inspiration of the others, Bishop Ammundsen maintained. There are two tendencies in the Church; one to comfort the conscience of the individual, the other to found the Kingdom of God in this world. This is a movement, young, and self-confident, but it has its dangers. "We Scandinavians are grateful to both; we are Lutherans, but we have received experiences of truth and stimulus from the West. I have become a better Lutheran through Anglo-Saxon influence."

Unity can only come through unity of ideals. Every officer of the Church from the highest to the lowest must subordinate himself to the task of the world-wide Church. In each Church the difficulty is found of uniting the faith, the mystic with the faith of the man of action. *Lux* with *lex*!

We must not make a superstition of organization, but organization is nevertheless necessary. The Federations of America, France and Switzerland have led the way. The Stockholm Conference must send a message of peace to

the Churches. Copec had shown in Britain what can be done by the Church in union.

It will not be easy for us, the President of the Evangelical Free Churches of Germany said, to awake joyful assent to the mind of the Conference. These Churches are not large, they have not more than half a million communicants, but their influence goes far beyond their small number. "We shall be opposed by conscientious scruples. We shall meet with mistrust in the reminder that till a comparatively recent date, our Churches were disregarded and combated, and we shall have to refute the objection that at bottom our co-operation is not wanted." But the representatives of these Churches would work sincerely for the end which had been before the Conference. And this was made easier by the fact that the Conference only desire to be an organ of divine forces, and that the source of its work "is the saving love of God in Christ which creates in men a new life through the Holy Ghost," and that the differences within Christendom were the expression of justified and necessary emphases. There need be no abandonment of holy convictions. All separations between Christians may be overcome by their gradually growing to understanding on the highway of love.

Miss Gardner spoke of the progress of co-operation between the Churches during the last twenty-five years. Among the landmarks were the world Missionary Conference of 1910, and the Lambeth Conference; the formation of the Temperance Council of the Churches and other forms of social service. After three years of preliminary work *Copec* came into being in 1924 with its 1,500 delegates; and this in its turn provided material for Stockholm, 1925.

Two practical questions were before the Conference as it considered this Report upon co-operation between the Churches. So President Kepler. Was there to be a Continuation Committee. And what form was it to take? If the Church of Christ is to have a voice which will penetrate through the world, there must be such a representative body in touch with the Churches. For the composition of such a Committee the Conference itself must be the starting point. Its four sections must be continued, and a fifth added for those Churches not yet in fellowship.

In such a continuation policy, courage and prudence must be shown. The Churches must take part officially. The

Committee will be a provisional institution designed to serve the common task.

Some conditions were set forth by Bishop Billing. No party tendency must enter into the work of investigation. The Committee must keep in constant touch with employers and employed. It must not undertake too many tasks. It must keep in touch also with the International Labour Office. It must be the watching eye of the Churches.

Some things which must not be neglected. There must be a Library, and a review in three languages. It must collect the records of all national and social endeavours and forces for the promotion of the Christian Faith. The proletariat must know that the Churches are arising. From the International Committee a crusade of international understanding must begin.

No half-measures! said Dr. Spiecker. Commissions are first-class burials, What is needed is an institution.

What had been the significance of the Conference? Lic. Stange of Leipzig asked. It was the first great expression of opinion in which the Churches took their share. This must be carried forward in the Continuation Committee. The continuation of the Conference was the most real of its deeds. Without it, the whole Conference would be a pure disappointment.

It is here perhaps that mention can be most fitly made of the wise counsels delivered by the Crown Prince of Sweden at the close of the Conference on August 29th. His words are not given among the messages sent to the Conference, because in the truest sense of the term, the Crown Prince and Princess were not visitors, but active and untiring members of the Conference itself. The Crown Prince spoke as one of the delegates; and both before and during the Conference he set a high standard before others of personal service.

In pleading for fellowship he made plain that fellowship implies tolerance, not the tolerance which is only a form of mental laziness, but the tolerance which is based upon understanding. To create a better understanding between Churches, between nations and between classes is a task to which the Conference had already given much, and a foundation had been laid upon which a solid structure might be built.

" Unity in confession is not a necessity for our Churches.

Individuality, personality is a precious thing. This applies to individuals and communities alike. Effacing individuality, whether it be in a person or in a community, is a grave thing to undertake, a thing which may bring loss with it. Uniformity is not always as desirable as it may sometimes appear."

"The aim of this Conference has therefore been, not to create uniformity, not to interfere in the least degree with the individuality of our Churches, but to promote *understanding*, and to further *co-operation* in the solution of problems, where co-operation is found possible. . . . Let us hope that the *Life and Work* movement may be allowed to contribute to the development of mankind, to the peace of the world, and to good will amongst men."

The drawing up of the Report was anxious work. The discussion of it might have been critical, but for the tact of the Chairman, the Bishop of Winchester, and the fine Christian spirit of the Conference. It was hoped that it might be carried unanimously. Only three voted against it. This was rightly regarded as a cause for thankfulness. It marked a step forward.

CHAPTER IX

THE MESSAGE OF THE UNIVERSAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON LIFE AND WORK

I

1. The Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work assembled at Stockholm from August 19th to 30th, 1925, and composed of representatives of the greater number of Christian communions coming from thirty-seven nations of the Old and New World, and of the Near and Far East, sends this brotherly message to all followers of Christ, beseeching them to join with them in prayer, confession, thanksgiving, study and service. We regret that not all Christian communions have found it possible to accept our invitation, for in view of the vital and far-reaching issues with which we have been concerned, we cannot but hope for that co-operation of all parts of the Church of Christ without which its testimony and influence in the world must be incomplete.

2. For five years men and women have planned and prayed that this Conference might be held. Other efforts for closer relations between the Churches have prepared the way. But this has proved the most signal instance of fellowship and co-operation, across the boundaries of nations and confessions, which the world has yet seen. The sins and sorrows, the struggles and losses of the Great War and since have compelled the Christian Churches to recognize, humbly and with shame, that "the world is too strong for a divided Church." Leaving for the time our differences in Faith and Order, our aim has been to secure united practical action in Christian Life and Work. The Conference itself is a conspicuous fact. But it is only a beginning.

3. We confess before God and the world the sins and failures of which the Churches have been guilty, through lack of love and sympathetic understanding. Loyal

seekers after truth and righteousness have been kept away from Christ because His followers have so imperfectly represented Him to mankind. The call of the present hour to the Church should be repentance, and with repentance a new courage springing from the inexhaustible resources which are in Christ.

4. It is a matter for deep thankfulness that in the plan of God and through the guidance of His Spirit the representatives of so many Christian communions have been led to assemble and have renewed in common fellowship their faith, hope and love in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. It is a matter for deep thankfulness that in spite of differences, sincere and profound, they have been enabled to discuss so many difficult problems with a candour, a charity and a self-restraint, which the Spirit of God alone could inspire. As we repeated the Lord's Prayer together, each in the speech his mother taught him, we realized afresh our common faith, and experienced as never before the unity of the Church of Christ.

II

5. The Conference has deepened and purified our devotion to the Captain of our Salvation. Responding to His call "Follow me," we have in the presence of the Cross accepted the urgent duty of applying His gospel in all realms of human life—industrial, social, political and international.

6. Thus in the sphere of economics we have declared that the soul is the supreme value, that it must not be subordinated to the rights of property or to the mechanism of industry, and that it may claim as its first right the right of salvation. Therefore we contend for the free and full development of the human personality. In the name of the Gospel we have affirmed that industry should not be based solely on the desire for individual profit, but that it should be conducted for the service of the community. Property should be regarded as a stewardship for which an account must be given to God. Co-operation between capital and labour must take the place of conflict, so that employers and employed alike may be enabled to regard their part in industry as special realms, possess the influence

and command the knowledge without which the solution of our pressing practical problems is impossible.

In the name of the Son of Man, the Carpenter of Nazareth, we send this message to the workers of the world. We thankfully record the fact that at present even under difficult conditions, a multitude of the workers in different countries are acting in accordance with the principles of Jesus Christ. We deplore the causes of misunderstanding and estrangement which still exist and are determined to do our part to remove them. We share their aspirations after a just and fraternal social order, through which the opportunity shall be assured for the development, according to God's design, of the full manhood of every man. To the realization of this end we would consecrate ourselves and all our powers.

13. We have said that this Conference is only a beginning. We cannot part without making some provision for the carrying on of our work. We have therefore decided to form a Continuation Committee to follow up what has been begun, to consider how effect can be given to the suggestions which have been made, to examine the practicability of calling another such Conference at a future date, and in particular to take steps for the further study of difficult problems and that further education of ourselves and of our Churches, on which all wise judgment and action must be based. May we not hope that through the work of this body, and through the increasing fellowship and co-operation of the Christians of all nations in the one Spirit, our oneness in Christ may be more and more revealed to the world in Life and Work.

14. Only as we become inwardly one, shall we attain real unity of mind and spirit. The nearer we draw to the Crucified, the nearer we come to one another, in however varied colours the Light of the World may be reflected in our faith. Under the Cross of Jesus Christ we reach out hands to one another. The Good Shepherd had to die in order that He might gather together the scattered children of God. In the Crucified and Risen Lord alone lies the World's hope.

Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

These annals of the Conference began with the service in the Cathedral at Stockholm; it may fitly end with the after-celebration at Upsala, on Sunday, the 30th August.

The Conference itself was ended, the Report adopted, the Committee designated. Now the delegates more than one thousand in number marched through the streets of the ancient City of Upsala to the University, and afterwards to the Cathedral, the nave of which was filled with the delegates. The service followed for the most part the Swedish custom, but the Patriarch of Alexandria said the Nicene Creed in Greek.

The Archbishop of Sweden, the preacher, gave St. Paul's greeting to the assembly in Greek, and prayed the "Veni, Sancte Spiritus," in Latin. Then he addressed some words to the delegates in Swedish, French, English and German, and afterwards preached on the word *Ephphatha*, "be opened."

CHAPTER X

THE END OF THE BEGINNING

"It has been of extraordinary intellectual interest to watch the gradual unfolding of new ideas—the ever-changing methods of attack on difficult problems. It has been of great interest, too, to note the comparative simplicity of the ideas that have ultimately emerged. . . . Nature appears to work in a simple way, and the more fundamental the problem, often the simpler are the conceptions needed for its explanations."—(Professor RUTHERFORD, at the British Association for the Promotion of Science.)

"The Great Adjustment is begun."—(THOMAS HARDY).

It is easier to say what the Stockholm Conference was not, than to say what it was. It was not a Council of Nicaea ; it was not called to define the Faith of the Church, nor could it speak for the whole company of the faithful. Its task was wisely limited to the application of the Christian Faith ; and it never claimed any authority to issue a creed, or an edict. In some ways its spirit was nearer to what is becoming in a Christian Conference than the spirit which was shown in Nicaea. The delegates certainly showed more courtesy to each other. There was no such sharp division as that which rent the Church asunder sixteen hundred years ago. There was no *Athanasius contra mundum.* The members of the Council brought their varied thoughts and visions into the open. There was no lack of frankness and yet there was no interruption of fellowship.

It was not a Pan-Protestant Bloc ; Rome had not accepted the invitation to be present, and therefore whatever claims might be made for universality would prove themselves idle. Yet there was seen to be no substance in the fear that the Conference would be a rallying of Protestant Churches against the Roman Church. The non-participation of Rome excited comments from more

speakers than one, but never in any tone of hostility. The speakers desired nothing more than that the door should be kept open to the Roman Church, whenever it should feel that it could share in this endeavour not to redefine the Faith, but to apply it. For the task before *Life and Work* there was not only a place for the witness of the Church of Rome, but it was clear that much would be wanting in any attempt to solve the problems of the modern world, till the experience and insight of the Roman Church were available.

It was not a Conference which could close questions. Its members were not qualified or deputed to issue an ethical code. Nor had it a political doctrine to send forth in the name of Christ. There were some who suspected it to be an attempt to capture the Church for Socialism. Others detected in it a demonstration against the doctrines of the *Third International.* It proved in experience that the Conference was seeking to study the problems of modern life simply from the standpoint of Christian Truth, and with a supreme faith in the wisdom and power which are available for all who will take Christ seriously. The divisions in the political world were not accepted as final. The members did not take sides. They were anxious not to press their political preferences and traditions, but to review the situation in fellowship; and so reviewing it they were agreed that not through the triumph of any one political party could deliverance come. Something that went deeper and worked more mightily was needed. If therefore anyone says that the Council was Socialist, or that it was anti-Socialist, let him not be believed.

It was not an End but a Beginning; its value indeed does not lie in the message, but in something harder to convey. But an attempt in brief must be made.

"The fact of the Conference is its significance"; this will remain a true estimate of the Conference for all who study its history. If anyone had been told in the year 1900 or in the years 1914-1918, that in 1925 a Conference would be held in which representatives from more than thirty nations, and thirty-five communions of Christians would meet together in fellowship to plan the more effective application of Christian principles, he would most probably have rejected the prophecy as an idle dream. But the thing has come to pass. If there had been nothing

of value said it would have been a significant fact that Christians from so many communions had met with each other, and listened to each other, and are now in every part of the world with their experiences enriched.

The delegates left Stockholm not as they were when they arrived. In every country there are now some who have shared an unforgettable experience, and in their own distinctive ways they are expressing their new knowledge.

From many lands and in many tongues come interpretations of the Conference. These cannot be reviewed here; one only can be selected, and that because of the authority with which its author speaks. Among the brotherhood of Stockholm there was no more genial member than Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, the President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Both in public speech, and in the friendly interchange of thought, he was always giving freely to others. He seemed to be a figure symbolic of the splendid enthusiasm of his people. To America, which listens for his voice, he has set forth his grateful astonishment at the miracle of Stockholm. He has told how in the Conference in Christ the gulfs that separate races and confessions were bridged. The Conference has given a fresh vision for the twentieth century; what might it not mean that delegates from traditions so varied have agreed that Christianity is a religion with a spiritual dynamic which may be released without waiting for confessional agreements?

"No delegate left Stockholm who does not believe that neither the Church nor the world can ever again be as they were before this great meeting was made. It was but the beginning of a mighty movement still in progress; owing little enough to earthly, and much to heavenly wisdom, and bound to eventuate in the final restoration of Christian solidarity.

"As I watched the towers and spires of that fair city sink below the horizon, I was conscious of the glorious work done there to advance the Kingdom of God. The salutations of my gallant host, Count Von Rosen, were my parting recollection. 'Sweden,' said this genial gentleman and devoted servant of his country, 'once led the world.' She surely led it again as never before during the last two weeks of August, 1925."*

* *The Review of the Churches*—January, 1926.

It is true that no one left Stockholm as he entered it.

The quick and eager social reformers have learned to see more clearly the nature of their problem, and the gravity of the evil within the world. They have learned something from those who have been more concerned with the awful and holy will of God than with the achievements of mankind, and these also have learned something from the confident and daring pioneers in social action.

The individualists who thought of the Gospel in terms of its message to the sinful soul, and regarded the Kingdom of God and the human social order as two separate planes, have learned something from the optimists whom before they had distrusted. Bishop Ihmels and Pastor Gounelle have learned from each other, and the heirs of Luther and the heirs of Calvin have not hit upon a mean between their two traditions, but they have perhaps come to see that it is through the tension between the two that progress will be made.

There will be many a pastor who will feel that he can impress a bolder message of Christian obligation upon his people because behind him he can feel the presence of the the brotherhood which met in Stockholm.

The statesman may know that there are many in every land, eager to have wrongs righted, and the policy of nations one to another, made more worthy of Christ.

Those who have cherished popular enmities against the Christians of other nations are able to see what it is that these others care for most. In Christ they are able to meet each other. And in Christ they may forgive each other.

It was at the heart of it a Conference rich in inspiration; but if the careful and scientific study of social problems were not practicable under the conditions, the Conference before it closed made provision for what may well prove to be a great source of enlightenment to all social reformers.

Inspiration for its completion there was in abundance; and if this needed to be united with careful study of the details, at least it gave what is needed most—the driving power of a fine emotion. What is needed now is that the emotion should not be dissipated, but used in practical experience along many lines.

It is the mighty oration that will give the best analogy. The fire burns in the speaker. It inspires his words, and

is carried by them to the ears and minds and consciences of his hearers, each one a separate being, though one of a company. The message divides itself and takes a thousand different forms. To the scholar it means one thing; to the statesman another; to the merchant another. They give to the ideal their obedience, and plan manifold experiments and endeavours. They go out into the world. On the morrow in a thousand centres the word of the speaker lives. Years afterwards it will live. But what is the word, if it is separated from these outgoings? Surely it is—all that it does; all that arises from it. Its value will be measured only when every answer made to it has been reported.

From "Stockholm, 1925," there went forth a word, first to its own members. Each received from the word what he needed most. Each went forth to make application of it. In many lands the answer is being made.

Not yet can it be measured what this Conference meant. Every answer must be reported. Every inspiration traced to its last outgoings. The vision had come; that was all; but there is nothing more mighty and unsearchable than the vision of the King in His beauty, and of the City of the redeemed.

I am a wanderer: I remember well
How once the city I desired to reach lay hid,
When suddenly its spires afar
Flashed through the encircling clouds.
Soon the vapours closed again,
But I had seen the city, and one such glance
No darkness could obscure.

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